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The Shape of Things

BEFORE THIS ISSUE IS READ, WE MAY BEGIN to see the shape of things to come in Palestine. It is not a good omen that both the United States and Russia ducked the issue until further stalling was impossible. But one thing became clear as the days passed. If Secretary Marshall and President Truman had been swung by the Arab threats toward an anti-Zionist position, they gave evidence of swinging back again under heavy bombardment of facts from the other side. The facts were not only political ones, cogently presented by Messrs. Flynn and Sullivan and others whose eyes are already fixed on next November. They were also strategic facts. While the State Department's attitude has largely complemented the attitude of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, it is by no means a foregone conclusion, even in Washington, that American security requires Arab rule in Palestine or appeasement of the Arab League and the Grand Mufti. A Jewish state in Palestine would mean the beginning of progress toward Westernization and decent social conditions in the Middle East—and these are the prerequisites of international stability. Primitive countries, strategically located and rich in essential raw materials, offer the best possible breeding places for the maneuvers of power politicians. It is this more enlightened view of American interests that the President and Mr. Marshall are supposed to have held. Assuming that they have not been threatened or argued out of it, the American position is a clear one. We will back the UNSCOP report and offer our cooperation in setting up the necessary international interim regime to enforce the majority recommendations. If the British should pull out —as Mr. Creech-Jones's statement implied they might— the task of implementation will be that much more complicated. But it will have to be undertaken with or without Britain, and the United States will be faced with the obligation to join other nations—Russia obviously included—in maintaining peace and preparing the way for the two new states in Palestine.

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THE FACTS ON WHICH A DECENT AMERICAN policy would be based were laid before the Assembly in a memorandum, submitted last Thursday, October 2, by the Nation Associates. The document, entitled "Could the Arabs Stage an Armed Revolt Against the United Nations?" says even more than its name implies. It provides the essential material on the development and conditions of life of the Arab countries without which no sensible answer to the question can be made. The Arab states, in spite of nationalist activity—largely vocal and political—are socially stagnant. Their armed strength exists only where it has been built up and maintained (as in Transjordan) by Western powers. Their capacity and will to work—or fight—as a body have never been demonstrated, and the political divisions among them argue against such a possibility. The document offers evidence, on the other hand, that the Jewish army in Palestine, the Haganah, is strong enough to maintain order in the country without foreign help. If the attitude of the United States has been conditioned by fear of a vast, organized Arab uprising, the facts presented in the Nation Associates' memorandum show the folly of such a notion.

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AFTER FIGHTING HARD TO PREVENT IT, the United States finally agreed to a proposal made by France and Belgium that the findings of guilt against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania in the Balkan dispute be dropped. The American decision, announced by Herschel V. Johnson in the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly, astonished the delegates. They had assumed that the United States was determined to stick to its own resolution, introduced at the start of the session, bluntly accusing the Balkan states of violating the Charter by helping the Greek guerrillas. Such phrasing would obviously have forced the accused nations and their backers to defy a decision against them. Then the United States was expected to propose a plan for action under the now famous Article 51 permitting collective or individual defense against armed attack. Mr. Johnson's strategic retreat indicates that such a scheme was viewed with disfavor by the nations on whose support we depend; the strong pleas of France and Belgium undoubtedly helped bring about our sudden shift in strategy. The question is: Has the move come too late to soften the resistance of the Balkan states? No new formulation can wipe out the fact that the United States has publicly charged them with violation of the Charter; and Mr. Johnson made it clear that his offer to withdraw the charge was conditioned on an *advance agreement* by them to accept a new United Nations border watch. If they refused, the guilt charges

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would snap right back. This is not, we think, the way "to contribute toward the maintenance of genuine peace and tranquility," as Mr. Johnson phrased our government's objective in Eastern Europe. If the American delegation really wanted to end the deadlock, they would adopt the French-Belgium formula without strings or qualifications.

*

GREAT BRITAIN NEEDS NO LESSONS FROM the United States in curbing the abuse of civil liberties. We did none too well with our Christian Fronters before the war, and the Ku Klux Klan has been a tolerated curse for some seventy years. But we have never had quite the brazen self-avowed fascist movement that appears to be growing in the industrial centers of Britain, and the government's seemingly tolerant view of it is painfully reminiscent of the Social Democrats' attitude in pre-Hitler Germany. Drew Middleton, reporting to the New York *Times*, writes that "Sir Oswald Mosley and the British League of Ex-Servicemen and Women are arousing considerable anxiety." Street meetings, at which black-shirted men heil Hitler and Mosley and urge violence against the Jews, have become weekly features of the London scene; the slogan "Perish Judah" is scrawled on the walls of London's East End buildings; and the Horst Wessel song is chanted in the streets. Yet J. Chuter Ede, the Home Secretary, has refused to ban fascist meetings even in the Jewish sections of London, where they are bound to be incendiary. And although several fascists have been arrested, he continues to allow the police to demand the names of hecklers in order to turn them over to the fascist chairmen under a regulation that clearly calls for reinterpretation or repeal. Just as our own slightly disguised fascists reached the peak of their daring in the depths of the depression, so England's political scum rises to the top in a period of severe strain and frustration. In the long run, a restoration of economic health is what will save the country, but meanwhile it should be obvious to its leaders that self-destruction in the name of civil liberty is not one of the obligations of a democracy.

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THE FOLLY OF GIVING AID TO BRITAIN SO long as a Labor government persists in its "Socialist experiments" is a favorite theme for some of our tory politicians and publicists. Our proper policy, they hint, would be to withhold all further financial assistance until the half-starved British voters holler for the return of Churchill. We shall be interested to learn the reaction of this school of thought to the "Industrial Charter" just indorsed by the annual conference of the British Conservative Party. Here is no ringing defense of free enterprise, no blast at centralized planning, no wholesale denunciation of public ownership. On the contrary, the charter calmly accepts the necessity for large measures

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of government control, particularly during the present crisis. "We will not remove the control from any necessity of life," it declares, "until we are certain that it is within the reach of every family in the land." The charter proposes to restore private dealings in cotton, and partially to denationalize road transport and civil aviation, but it states definitely that the coal industry, the railroads, and the Bank of England will continue to be publicly owned. When the charter was first published last May, it aroused the right-wingers to bitter opposition. But that opposition has melted away under the heat of continued Labor by-election victories. At the Conservative Party conference last week, the vote in its favor was practically unanimous, with the only criticism coming from that unalloyed diehard Sir Waldron Smithers, who growled, "Milk-and-water socialism." That is an apt description, but big-business supporters of the Tories will probably take heart from some of the less publicized sections of the charter, which suggest that the state, while settling the broad outlines of the national economic plan, will "delegate" very important powers to private industrial organizations. This would mean increased authority for the "trade associations" which have long restricted competition in most British industries—a very nice arrangement from the monopolists' point of view.

*

THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE HAS GIVEN way a little in its stand against increased margins on future grain contracts. While rejecting the Secretary of Agriculture's request for a minimum 33 1/3 per cent margin, it has introduced a sliding-scale arrangement which will increase initial margin requirements by 5 cents for every 10-cent rise in quotations. On the day this new plan became effective, both wheat and barley rose 10 cents, thus automatically raising margin rates for these grains from 45 to 50 cents a bushel. But with December wheat close to $3, speculators can still buy contracts to the value of nearly six times their cash deposit. It is, perhaps, not surprising that there has been little sign of reduced speculation since the change in rules, or that although grain prices have been rather erratic in the past week, the trend is still upward.

*

IT IS A FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN CONCEPT that a man is innocent until proved guilty by due process of law. Yet in Tampa, Florida, the old concept is being reversed for the special benefit of the American Legion. That organization appears to be worried about the growing strength and effectiveness in Florida of the American Veterans Committee, which helped defeat a white primary bill in that state. In partial revenge, Legion officials in Tampa recently blocked the efforts of the Tampa University A. V. C. chapter to obtain a donation of county-owned land for its clubhouse. Then they apparently told Dr. E. C. Nance, president of the university, that the A. V. C.—the whole A. V. C.—is a "Communist-front" organization. Dr. Nance's response was surprising, since he is reputed to be a liberal, and has, in the past, been friendly toward the A. V. C. His decision was to ban the veterans' organization from his campus until its members "have proved that the charges brought against them by the American Legion are not true." A hearing, at which such proofs might be offered, was scheduled for early this week, and we do not know the results as we go to press. Whatever they are, the hearing ought never to have been called and a liberal college president ought never to have succumbed to the prejudices of Legionnaires.

Political Justice in Eastern Europe

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AGAINST fantastic obstacles, the peoples of the Balkan and Danube countries are fighting through a social revolution. The process is one *The Nation* has followed, and reported, with absorbed interest. During the short period since the war ended, old class relationships in Eastern Europe have been turned upside down, old ruling groups thrown out of power, old systems of ownership swept away. In some countries, the change is taking place by relatively slow and orderly stages; in others, through violent seizures of property and control and the forcible elimination of former owners. The degree of violence depends partly on the social and political background of the country, partly on the impact of the war. Where a country was devastated by invading armies and Nazi terror, where collaboration flourished and civil war raged, the revolution has taken a grimmer form. But only American diplomats in Eastern Europe, nostalgically consorting with the dispossessed relics of pre-war power and privilege, would demand of those countries a smooth, orderly transition to the new society—or, much better, a return to the old system of feudal elegance and comfortable corruption. These diplomats and their superiors in Washington succeeded long ago in convincing the Eastern European peoples of America's implacable hostility to the changes they have made; better a thousand Tsaldarises than one Tito. Is it surprising that the State Department's protests against electoral frauds in Hungary or political convictions in Belgrade or Sofia should be roughly rejected?

By its fixed reactionary policy, this country has forfeited any influence it might have exercised toward moderating the rigors of revolutionary change. Worse, it has encouraged some democrats in Eastern Europe to

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bet their political futures—even their lives—on the hope of Western approval and help. It was a British diplomat who said ironically and privately, a few months ago: "Poor Petkov! He's been living all this time with his head out the window watching for the American planes to come roaring over." The Englishman did not imply a "conspiracy" with the United States for a projected invasion of Bulgaria; he implied a feverish hope that the non-Communist Agrarian forces Petkov represented would win tangible American backing. The contrary is, of course, the fact. American intervention has been limited to manifestation of displeasure—to protests, denunciations, and a refusal to give credits to the governments of Eastern Europe or relief to their peoples. As a consequence, when the State Department denounced Petkov's conviction, his death was probably assured.

THESE facts make it the more obligatory for Americans who have steadily opposed the Administration's policy and behavior in the Balkans to express openly their opposition to the mounting attacks on non-Communist leftists in those countries. Their words cannot be misconstrued. *The Nation* has wasted no sympathy on fascists and collaborationists; we only wish that none was left in a position of authority in any European state. We believe the press turmoil over the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinak in Yugoslavia was whipped up by clerical and anti-left propaganda in order to cover the complicity of the church with Hitler's agents in Croatia. The State Department's charge that the forced resignation of Premier Nagy in Hungary was no more than a Communist coup ignored, purposely we believe, the deep left-right split in the Smallholders Party and the conspiracy against the regime, established by solid legal evidence, among the Horthyists and disgruntled ex-landowners who had permeated the party's right wing. Unlike our policy-makers in Washington, we accept as valid therapy the purge of those men who would, if they could, undo the revolution and make of their countries another Greece—or Spain.

But recent political arrests and convictions seem to have gone beyond the limits of legitimate political *épuration*. Men have been put on trial and convicted, usually on charges of treason, against whom no convincing evidence has been presented or at least published. Furlan, a Yugoslav liberal leader who supported Tito long before his government was formed, was lately condemned to death in Belgrade, although afterward his sentence was commuted. It is said that Furlan was a "British agent" working for the overthrow of Tito's regime, but if this is true the facts were not made public, as they should have been. In any case, the Yugoslav government showed wisdom and restraint in sparing Furlan's life.

We hope it will be at least as wise in the case of Dragolub Yovanovich, the Serbian Agrarian leader, on trial for treason. Yovanovich believed in cooperating with the Communists; he emerged from a German prison camp after the war to join the government of Marshal Tito. But he opposed Communist methods and policies and was rash enough to rise in Parliament and say: "The Communists are wonderful. They liberated us from the King and the church; it only remains for them to liberate us from the Communist Party." Yovanovich now stands accused of working for the British and of directing illegal propaganda against the government. But his record speaks in his defense and challenges the accusation.

So did the record of the Bulgarian leader, Nikola Petkov, hung for treason the other day in Sofia. Petkov's entire life had been spent in fighting tyranny. He had opposed the Bulgarian czars and, throughout the German occupation, waged a courageous struggle against the Nazis. His father and brother had been murdered on the streets of Sofia by collaborationists. With the end of the war, Petkov entered the Fatherland Front, but soon found himself in opposition to Communist policies and methods. He was ousted from the government, arrested, and charged with conspiring to overthrow the regime. Petkov admitted only that he had "wanted to rouse the people to fight the Fatherland Front at the ballot box." If a more serious offense was committed, no proof was offered that would have stood up in any Western court.

When Petkov was condemned, democratic newspapers in every country urged a commutation: several recalled the ironic fact that Petkov had rushed to the defense of Dimitrov when the Bulgarian Communist was on trial for his life in the Reichstag-fire case. (Dimitrov kept silent while Petkov hanged.)

NO ONE has even suggested that Petkov and Yovanovich were fascists or collaborationists. They were not involved, to anyone's knowledge, with Eckhardt or Nagy or Machek or the other disappointed politicians who, from their secure retreat in Washington, pretend to represent the interests of the peasants of Eastern Europe. The prosecution's attempt to implicate Yovanovich in their maneuvers, by accusing him of having "received a letter" from Machek, backfired badly when Yovanovich told the court first, that he was not responsible for people who wrote to him, second, that he had burned the letter, and, third, that the prosecution had framed the whole episode (otherwise why would it have had a photostat of the letter alleged to have been sent by Machek?)

Did these peasant leaders conspire against the governments they helped form or only oppose certain policies and tactics with which they disagreed? A coalition

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regime presumes differences of opinion and attempts to reconcile them. Socialists and left Agrarians are working with Communists in all the "front" governments of Eastern Europe, and Communists strongly advocate "unity" among the left forces there and throughout Europe. If men like Petkov and Yovanovich are traitors and conspirators, the evidence should be freely published. Not only are justice and the fate of individuals at stake, but the integrity of the left movement as a whole.

Lethargy and Panic

EUROPEANS who suffer through what is likely to be the Continent's bitterest winter in history should take comfort in the thought that they too are playing a part in the titanic squabble between Republicans and Democrats. If we had not elected a Republican Congress in 1946, President Truman would not have to be so circumspect about calling a special session to provide emergency aid, and if there were no election scheduled for 1948, the Republicans would not be so hesitant about calling it themselves.

It might seem, on first thought, that the dire need of millions of people for food and fuel would take precedence over all other considerations and that nobody but a stage villain would even dispute such a course. On second thought, it might seem still more natural for us to rush to the rescue of a starving, freezing Europe inasmuch as our failure to do so will tremendously improve the chances of the Communists in Italy and France and strengthen the influence of Soviet Russia throughout the Continent—a prospect that Republicans, in particular, would be expected to view with some alarm.

Yet all the President of the United States can do in this historic emergency is to suggest to Congressional leaders that they meet soon to decide whether or not to call a special session in order to offer Western Europe, at the last desperate moment, a sum just large enough to provide a bare existence for a few weeks. Of the people of the United States, he asks only that they pass up every fifth slice of bread and be careful what they throw into the garbage can. And in keeping with this mild and leisurely approach to disaster, the leaders of Congress agree to call their committees into session by the middle of November, with the possibility of holding a special session in December that may provide the minimal funds by the first of the year. By the President's own estimate, the situation will become critical in December, and it does not take more than a week for mass starvation to develop. There is no assurance, moreover, that Congress will adhere to schedule. In spite of the most urgent demands from the White House—whether justified or not—it took four months to vote the requested funds for the Greek-Turkish program.

In justice to the President, it should be said that in an immediate sense he has plausible arguments for his policy of gradualism. He must do an educational job on a public that has been shamelessly bombarded with the falsehood that high prices are caused by our present relief shipments to Europe. Second, there is no way of limiting a special session to emergency legislation, and there are Congressmen who would see in the very urgency of a foreign-relief bill a chance to exact a quid pro quo like Knudsen's measure for reducing the burden of high-bracket taxpayers. And third, the President fears that a political-minded Congress, feeling itself under pressure from the Executive, might refuse to budge, in which case not only would the emergency bill be lost, but the entire long-range plan of aid to Europe would be endangered—with shattering psychological effect abroad.

With due regard for these arguments, and even for the unofficial reports that Mr. Truman is prepared to call a special session himself in December if Republican leaders fail to do so, we still feel that the President is seriously at fault for having allowed the situation to deteriorate to its present appalling level. He must have known last July, when Congress was still in session, what every casual observer knew: that Western Europe's resources were tragically inadequate to meet the needs of the coming winter and that its dollar supply was swiftly approaching the vanishing-point. Yet several times during the summer he indicated that no special session would be necessary. As recently as September, he idled back from Rio de Janeiro on a three weeks' cruise instead of flying back to dramatize the emergency. He has done little to rouse the country to the true state of affairs, and even now, while he speaks gravely of urgency, he gives his blessing to the journey of Senator Bridges, whose vital Appropriations Committee cannot meet until he returns, in the middle of November, from a personal-inspection tour of Europe.

The cold mechanics of politics, hard to transcend in any case, are certainly not to be overcome by alternating currents of lethargy and panic. The Constitution lays down the duties of the President, but no document can prescribe those human qualities that make the difference between office-holding and leadership. In the matter of European reconstruction, as in other matters, we believe the President to be well intentioned, but he will have to show a lot more boldness than he has so far displayed if Western Europe is to be saved from chaos. As for dilatory Congressmen, we call to their attention Marquis Child's interesting report from Rome that the Soviets, with a wheat surplus on hand, are waiting for the psychological moment. When the Italians reach the starvation level and find themselves unable to live on words from Capitol Hill, the Russians will send in the precious grain—and the battle for Italy will be over.

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Palestine and Other Disputes

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 6

WHEN it was rumored that the session of the Palestine Committee had been called off last Saturday afternoon so that delegates could get out to Ebbett's Field for the fifth game of the World Series, most denizens of the press gallery hailed the news as a sign of awakening good sense. For the play at Flushing and Lake Success last week had been dreary and uninspired. No Lavagetto by any other name had bounced a double off the back wall. No Gionfriddo had plucked defeat out of the blue. And contempt for umpires' decisions—investigation-committee reports they are called out here—was at an all-time high. The battle of peace, last week, was a murky affair.

The rhetoric and recriminations which have come to be regarded as a necessary part of the plenary sessions have been carried over into the committees. And what is doubly exasperating, those who have been making the most use of their parliamentary right of debate have shown the greatest reluctance to accept the will of the majority—another quaint democratic tradition. On Wednesday we heard the acting head of the Arab League threaten to drench the Holy Land in blood if the majority report of the Palestine investigating committee was adopted by the Assembly. And all the week, in the sessions of the Political Committee, the Slavic group—eloquent in their denunciations of Greek fascism and American and British imperialism—refused to admit the validity of a General Assembly committee as one means of helping settle the Balkan dispute. This is not merely an archaic reiteration that absolute national sovereignty must be considered the inviolable bastion of peace. It is also a flat refusal to accept any justice in the claims of a dissenter; it is insistence that all right is on one side; it is branding the opposition as the enemy, the blackguard, the warmonger. If the United Nations is a school of international democracy, quite a few members are still in the kindergarten.

PROBABLY the best and strongest speech this week was made on Friday by Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, the president of last year's General Assembly. It was pretty plain that he did not have much use for the present Greek government. It was also evident that he thought the Slav states were drawing a long bow when they laid all the blame for the Balkan trouble on the imperialist shenanigans of England and the United States. But chiefly he drove home the point that hours and days of mutual recrimination were getting nobody anywhere. "The important thing," he said, "is to settle the Balkan problem; let us get out of the deadlock where we have been left by the Security Council and let us show the world that the Assembly is capable of doing something practical and reasonable in order to put an end to the conflict which even today shows it may become grave in the future." Mr. Spaak's words, which were listened to with an attention given to few speeches in that committee, may have had something to do with Herschel Johnson's surprise statement on Saturday that the United States was prepared to leave the guilt paragraph out of the American resolution.

BUT Mr. Spaak was emphasizing a truth that went far beyond the Greek issue to the very heart of the United Nations' present difficulties. There must, of course, be freedom of discussion—and in the world as now constituted that means freedom to give ideological dissertations, accusatory harangues, and partial expositions of history past and present. But at some point in the debate the supremacy of the world parliament, the supremacy of the Assembly, must be asserted. It is possible for the legalists to point out the limitations of the Assembly as written into the Charter. It is possible for the mechanics to suggest ways in which administrative defects can be repaired. (There is a thoroughly useful report on procedural reforms which this Assembly will discuss before the end of the session. There is more than a spark of a good idea in the American plan for a "Little Assembly," which of course will not pass in its present form.) But no legalistic dialectic and no mechanical tinkering can be taken as a substitute for the will of the majority to make the Assembly work as the instrument for world peace.

It is perfectly clear that the authority of the Assembly has not yet been established. And one basic reason is that maintaining the balance of power is still the major concern—particularly among the great powers. Take the stupid business of the third seat on the Security Council. It was proper that Canada should replace Australia. Granting the new solidarity of the Latin American bloc, it was proper—or inevitable—that Argentina should replace Brazil. Why was it, then, not proper that the Ukraine should replace Poland? The Anglo-American argument ran that the Ukraine was actually an integral part of the Soviet Union—as it probably is—and that some more independent state like

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Czechoslovakia should go on. But Czechoslovakia did not choose to run, and why should Britain and the United States decide which of the Eastern group should get on the Council? Isn't the Ukraine a member in good standing of the United Nations? And are the Ukraine and Manuilski much harder to swallow than Greece and Tsaldaris or Argentina and Perón? It is true that India has a valid claim in its own right for a post on the Council, a claim which Mrs. Pandit stated clearly. Probably on the basis of size and geographic significance it should be a permanent member. But in the immediate situation this is beside the point. What we have seen has been a misguided effort to upset an existing arrangement for the Security Council, and it should not have been allowed to develop. Probably by the time this article is in print the Ukraine will have been elected and some—but not all—of the damage will be repaired.

But if the mishandling of the Security Council issue showed shortsightedness, at this moment there seems grave danger that the prestige of the Assembly is going to be dealt an even greater blow by the shrewd maneuverings of the powers on Palestine. Were it not for the underlying preoccupation with the balance of power, the Palestine problem could unquestionably be settled along the lines of the majority report. The Arabs have not improved their case by their testimony in this Assembly. The threats of Jamal Husseini irritated rather than impressed. On the other hand, the moderation, firmness, and reason of Rabbi Silver reinforced the conclusion most delegates have reached that the majority report should be accepted and implemented. But no effective action could be taken unless backed solidly by the United States. And at the end of the week the United States was still silent. Probably narrow considerations of Middle East strategy are making it hesitate. Next week may show whether the United States has the imagination to seize world leadership in an issue where the way of justice is clearly marked.

Interested readers may purchase copies of the Nation Associates' new memorandum to the General Assembly, "Could the Arabs Stage an Armed Revolt Against the United Nations?" by writing to 20 Vesey Street, Room 1010. The price is 50 cents.

What Keeps Them Apart?

BY JOSEPH E. JOHNSON

IT USED to be thought—and apparently still is by some people—that foreign affairs and foreign policy should and could be separated from domestic affairs and domestic politics. In a limited sense and with respect to limited issues, that is true. Under the wise leadership of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull the United Nations organization was successfully established on a non-partisan basis. Partisan politics were likewise set aside in the negotiation of the peace treaties with Italy, Finland, and the Axis satellites in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, in general it is impossible to separate foreign affairs from domestic, and it becomes increasingly so as the issues in foreign affairs involve economic considerations. Attempts to treat them as separate are sometimes fantastic: one recalls, for instance, the recent nearly successful effort to place a higher tariff on wool just when United States officials were trying to negotiate trade agreements in Geneva.

Not only can foreign and domestic issues not be separated, but in the opinion of many persons both here and abroad the most important question to which makers of foreign policy in all countries need an answer is primarily an American domestic problem: Are we going to have a depression? Foreign statesmen, notably those in the Kremlin, are already basing their policies on their guesses as to the answer. On whether or not a depression is in the offing, and on how we deal with it if it comes, hangs not only the success of the Marshall proposal but so much more besides as to stagger the imagination.

So indissolubly linked are foreign and domestic policy as to call into question the validity of the old maxim that "politics should stop at the water's edge." It is doubtful, in fact, whether politics *can* stop at the water's edge: witness the present debate over whether to hold a special session of Congress to deal with the European economic crisis.

The role of the United States in foreign affairs may become before long an acute domestic political issue.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON lately returned to the faculty of Williams College after nearly five years in the State Department. Most recently a member of the department's new Policy Planning staff, headed by George F. Kennan, he was for the previous two and a half years chief of the Division of International Security Affairs, and in this capacity attended a number of United Nations meetings involving dealings with the Soviet Union. This article is based on a commencement address Mr. Johnson made at Williams on September 26.

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There is a real question whether the effective fulfilment of our responsibilities does not demand radical improvements in our machinery of government—perhaps even to the point of amending the Constitution—to bring about a more efficient relationship between all those responsible for the various decisions necessary to the adoption and implementation of foreign policy. The difficulties and even dangers of such measures are many. Yet it is appropriate to recall that it was the inability of the Confederation government to deal successfully with foreign relations which led to the Convention of 1787.

Drawing by Wrigley

Foreign Minister Molotov

The international scene bears little resemblance to that of 1939. And in many respects it is quite unlike that which in 1945 we hoped would confront us two years after the end of the war. The novelty of its present aspects should be stressed because that novelty is itself one of the most significant factors in international relations today and will continue to be important for some years. Our thinking is inevitably conditioned by the past. Time is vital, and the greater the novelty of a situation the greater the difficulty which statesmen and people have in adopting, in sufficient time, policies adequate to deal with it.

THE most conspicuous feature of the world that emerged from the war is that there are now only two great powers, two veritable super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Eight years ago there were seven. Moreover, the relative stature of these two powers has apparently grown since 1945, as events have revealed that the United Kingdom, China, and France will for some time at least be even less capable of playing decisive roles than was expected only two years ago.

It would be difficult enough under any circumstances for the world to adjust itself to a two-power system: it must revise its concepts of the balance of power, of the relationships between small states and large. But the problem is rendered infinitely more complicated by two related facts. For one thing, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is adequately prepared for its new role. Compared to some states, both had little experience on the pre-war international stage. Both must learn the hard way to play leading roles.

This lack of maturity is far less significant than the fact that the two great powers are the protagonists of totally different ways of life. This is not the occasion to analyze in detail all the differences—in economic and political concepts, in systems of ethics, in modes of thinking, in techniques of foreign policy. As for the question, "Can the Soviet system and the American continue to exist together on the same planet or must there inevitably be war?" the student of history must answer that war is never inevitable. It is only too manifest, however, that a conflict—what some call a "cold war"—has already begun. So the question becomes: "Will the 'cold war' degenerate into a 'hot war'?" The answer again is, "Not necessarily." In my opinion the American people by their decisions in the next few years will determine the answer to that question.

Two factors influencing Soviet-American relations do not always receive the attention they deserve. One is that the concept of friendly relations among nations which is basic to ordinary diplomatic procedure is apparently entirely lacking in Soviet thought and action. The experts say, and experience substantiates their claim, that for the Soviet leaders relations with all states except those directly under their control are always at best "non-friendly." As General Deane, chief of the United States Military Mission in Moscow during the war, phrased it, "There is no such thing as banking good-will in Russia." The other factor is the extreme difficulty which the Soviet Union and the United States have in even understanding each other. This arises not only from the differences in the two systems but also from the fact that barriers set up by the U. S. S. R. deny both peoples the information necessary to an understanding.

In the last few years a large number of Americans who had had no previous experience with the Soviet Union or Soviet diplomats have been initiated into the mysteries of dealing with the U. S. S. R. I have been through the mill in a mild way and have witnessed the initiation of a number of others. Almost without exception the methods and attitudes of the Soviet representatives have induced in the American negotiators a cycle of, first bewilderment, then frustration, and finally anger. In most cases, fortunately, understanding has come eventually.

The American press and people, too, are left confused and angry by such polemics as Mr. Vishinsky's recent speech in the United Nations General Assembly. Such feelings may be natural, but they are unnecessary and dangerous. Vishinsky said nothing the least bit surprising. He said nothing the controlled Soviet press and the Moscow radio and Soviet officials have not been saying for months. He used no new techniques. He merely took advantage of the occasion to put all the earlier outbursts together in one gigantic eruption before the whole world. The sooner we learn to take such performances in our stride, the better it will be for us and all concerned, including the Russians.

But if we find difficulty in understanding the Soviet

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mind, a single example will illustrate Soviet inability to understand us. Repeatedly, prominent Soviet personages have revealed a complete failure to grasp the American concept of freedom of the press. Vishinsky did it in his speech on September 19 and again in his press conference.

While the fact of two colossal powers facing each other, immature and mutually uncomprehending, is of first importance, the role of the "middle" states should not be underestimated. This is particularly true of those countries which are "middle" not only in size or geographical location but in social philosophy. Too often policies have been suggested which appear to disregard the nations with which we are most closely linked by heritage and community of interest. It is one of the great merits of Secretary Marshall's proposal for European rehabilitation that it was based on a recognition of the importance of the middle powers. If an effective plan is developed and carried out, Mr. Marshall might well paraphrase George Canning and say, with an accuracy lacking in the British Foreign Secretary's famous remark, that he "brought the Old World back to life to redress the balance of the New."

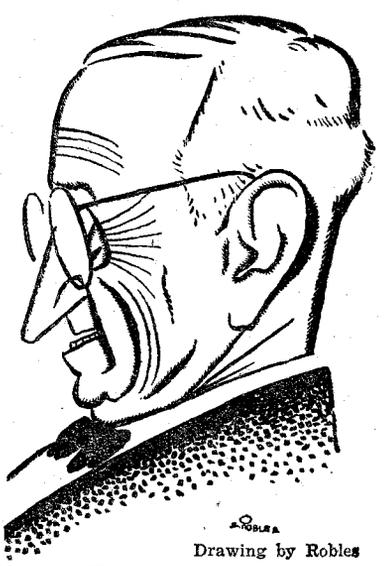
TO MANY the emergence of two super-states will seem less significant for humanity than the release of atomic power, and certainly the most novel and terrifying feature of international life today is that the atomic weapon is loose in the world. Yet in its international aspects the release of atomic energy is at present essentially an element in power relationships, particularly in United States–Soviet relationships, and therefore comes second in a catalogue of the dominant features of the international scene.

The phrase "loose in the world" is not intended to suggest that Soviet or any other scientists and technicians have developed an atomic bomb or are even close to doing so. I do not know whether they are or not. The only information I have on that point is based upon the confusing and conflicting public estimates made by General Groves and numerous nuclear physicists. The phrase is meant merely to underline the harsh truth that today, more than two years after Hiroshima, the world is apparently no closer to effective international control of atomic energy than it was in January, 1946, when the U. N. General Assembly passed the resolution setting up the Atomic Energy Commission.

Many statements might be made about the international aspects of atomic energy—political, economic, strategic; I want to make just two. The first is my personal conviction, based upon close association with the subject for many months, that the proposal of the majority of the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission represents the only viable approach to effective international control of atomic energy. The second is that, in view of the deadlock that has developed, it would be dangerous self-delusion to ignore the possibility that the Soviet Union may have atomic weapons before international control is effected. As Professor Wolfers of Yale has said, if and when that happens, "a truly revolutionary change will have occurred in the military position of this country. . . . With every day that passes we are moving gradually from a position of unusual safety to a kind of earthquake zone which will be rendered livable for our urban population only by the hope and confidence that the outbreak of another war will be prevented."

Another principal component of the current international complex is the United Nations itself. Two significant aspects of the world organization seem particularly worth emphasizing. One is that the U. N. and its related agencies constitute a truly remarkable extension of the multilateral approach to the handling of international problems. The other is that its meetings are conducted in a glare of publicity. Despite Woodrow Wilson and the League, private bilateral diplomatic negotiations have until very recently been the traditional media of international dealings. While still important, they no longer enjoy their former primacy.

One consequence of these new factors is that statesmen now have an additional and different tool for the conduct of international relations. In Washington the question constantly arises, for instance, as to whether an issue should be brought before the U. N. or handled by diplomatic procedures. It is almost always a difficult question to answer, and the difficulty is enhanced by fear of criticism for "by-passing" the U. N. and by doubts as to whether the U. N. can bear the load. Another consequence is that new skills must be developed; negotiation in private with a foreign minister or an ambassador is a vastly different matter from negotiations with representatives of ten or fifty-four other nations while the world listens in. To present a proposal or argue a point not only to representatives of a number of sovereign states but to the press and public of one's own land, and of foreign countries as well, is a very sobering experience. Not many men, whatever their training and background, are adequately equipped for this sort of fish-bowl diplomacy.



Drawing by Robles

President Truman . .

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On all sides one hears expressions of fear that the present tension in the General Assembly may be the prelude to the disruption of the United Nations. This alarmist point of view seems to me unjustified. One cannot disregard the tension, or the speeches which both reflect and contribute to it. But strong speeches have been made in the past; Molotov's address at the opening of the Assembly last autumn was not so greatly different from Vishinsky's last week, if differences in the personalities of the speakers be discounted. With all the sound and fury that has characterized the present session, neither of the giant powers is likely to risk the consequences of pulling out of the organization or forcing the other to withdraw. Each has too much to gain by remaining inside—if only to advance its own ideas of what is good for itself and for the rest of the world.

The High Cost of Innocence

BY BETTE W. PENZELL

Montreal, October 3

A LITTLE over a year ago a Canadian Royal Commission startled people in both Canada and the United States by issuing its famous "Blue Book" on alleged spy activities in Canada. Of the twenty-six people accused of subversive acts nine have now been completely exonerated, five were never brought to trial, two have vanished and are wanted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, seven have received sentences totaling thirty-seven years, and the cases of three are still before the courts.

The nine persons who were exonerated have attempted to return to their normal way of life but have met with discrimination and prejudice. Most of them have been unable to get their old jobs back and have found new employers reluctant to hire them. Though they were declared not guilty in a court of law, their reputations have been damaged. Moreover, each of them spent about $4,000 for his defense, and since they were persons of average income, their savings in most cases have been wiped out and they are in debt.

Of those acquitted Fred Poland, a newspaperman, has been one of the more fortunate. Poland entered the service in 1942 and became an intelligence officer in the Canadian air force. On February 15, 1946, he was taken from his home by the Mounted Police and charged with breach of the Official Secrets Act. A year later he was acquitted. Before the war he had worked for the Montreal *Star,* and he now has returned to his job, receiving the same treatment as any other veteran.

Because his defense had been so costly and his arrest, he believed, a mistake, Poland wrote a letter to James L. Ilsley, Minister of Justice, asking the government to reimburse him. Ilsley replied as follows:

> My information is that . . . the Royal Commission found [the evidence] indicated that you had committed an offense against the Official Secrets Act. . . . This evidence was submitted to counsel for the Crown, who also were of the opinion that the evidence indicated that you were guilty. The magistrate was apparently of the same opinion, as he committed you for trial. I am therefore obliged to conclude that there was some evidence against you upon which you might have been convicted. . . . I am therefore not disposed to give favorable consideration to the request contained in your letter.

Agatha Chapman, another of the acquitted, was formerly an economist for the Bank of Canada and is now in England doing research work at Cambridge University. Before she left for England she gave a statement about her case to the press. In the fall of 1944, she said, the Bank of Canada lent her to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to work on national-income accounts. In late 1945 the bureau decided to create the job of chief of the National Income Unit. Miss Chapman was offered the post and permanent status in the bureau. In July, 1946, when the report of the Royal Commission was made public, she was told not to report to work, and the Bank of Canada put her on leave with pay pending outcome of the charges. In November, 1946, the charges against her were dismissed, without it being necessary for her to offer any defense.

Thereupon she reported back to the Bank of Canada, which suggested that she take a month's leave before returning to the Bureau of Statistics. In January, 1947, an oral examination was held for the National Income Unit post. Miss Chapman took it, but one of the other applicants was chosen. When she returned to her job in the Bank of Canada, the bank forced her resignation by not offering her proper reinstatement.

Matt S. Nightingale was discharged from the army a year before the commission's report was issued, went back to the Bell Telephone Company, where he had worked before the war, and received a promotion. After his trial and acquittal he was told, "It is not in the best interests of the company to rehire you." Though an electrical engineer with twenty years' experience in com-

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munications companies, he had great difficulty in getting another job and finally took one at a much lower salary than he had been earning.

Eric G. Adams, economist and industrial engineer, at the time of the Royal Commission's report was employed by the government's Industrial Development Bank. On his acquittal he went back to the bank. On December 31, 1946, he resigned, having always planned to set up his own practice. He says, "You can't categorically say that I am being discriminated against. On the other hand, every now and then a job will come up that I don't get and there's no other explanation for it."

Adams asked his lawyers whether he could hope to recover from the government any of the $4,000 which his defense cost him, and they said no. Since a suit against the government could be brought only with the government's permission, his chances would be slim, to say the least.

Dr. Israel Halperin at the time of his arrest was on leave of absence from Queen's University in Kingston, preparing to attend the Institute for Advanced Learning at Princeton. After his acquittal he returned to his teaching at Queen's, but he had lost his opportunity to attend the institute and spent $6,000 on his defense.

Dr. David Shugar had a temporary appointment as a physicist in the Department of National Health and Welfare. He returned to the department after being acquitted on the first conspiracy charge. Three months later, when he was to be tried again, he was dismissed. After a second acquittal he sought to get his job back but failed. His defense cost him $3,000, some of which he has regained through out-of-court settlements with *Time* and *True Magazine* for libel.

The three men tried for infringement of the passport laws—W. M. Pappin, Dr. John Soboloff, and Dr. Henry Harris—were all acquitted and have returned to their former work.

H. S. Gerson and J. S. Benning were both acquitted on appeal but have another charge to answer. There is a strong possibility that the Crown will not press its second charge against Benning. He was released without bail and is looking for a job. Gerson is ill and almost destitute. He was released on bail and cannot seek employment. The other case still to be decided is that of Professor Raymond Boyer, whose first appearance before the court this spring ended in a mistrial. His case will come up again in November.

With only seven convictions the government so far has a score of 30 per cent. The damage to human lives seems out of proportion to the accomplishment.

India's Brown-Shirt Brigades

BY ANDREW ROTH

New Delhi, September 20

PANDIT NEHRU, Mahatma Gandhi, enlightened members of the Indian government, and foreign observers are concerned about the emergence of a number of fanatical communal groups in the wake of the recent Hindu-Moslem clashes. Some of them openly call for the elimination of Nehru and other tolerant, modern-minded members of the government, the conversion of India into a 100 per cent Hindu state, and a declaration of war upon Pakistan. Pandit Nehru has described them as the "Brown-Shirt Brigades," and indeed they bear a strong resemblance to the Hitler storm troops. Like the storm troops they are largely recruited from the frustrated lower middle class and use the technique of the "big lie." No false statement about the Moslems, or even their non-Moslem opponents, is too foul for them if it serves to inflame the passions of the Hindu community and foster the war mentality.

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The best-known of these groups is the Hindu Mahasabha, or Hindu Conference, which has a member in the present government. Another is the Hindu Student Federation. But perhaps the most dangerous is the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, or National Service Organization, a body somewhat like the Hitler Youth but as secret and ritualistic as the Ku Klux Klan; the real name of its leader is not generally known. Many observers discount these groups as a lunatic fringe which has come to the fore because of the tense situation, but in Germany in the twenties Hitler and his accomplices were also discounted, as were the young army officers who helped convert Japan into a dangerous war machine.

Not one of these organizations is strong numerically or politically. The Hindu Mahasabha, which is the oldest and most closely knit, took a bad beating in the last elections. But it is capable of exercising considerable pressure on Congress through its many orthodox Hindu supporters. Some of the wealthy Hindu industrialists, including one of the Birla brothers, are reported to be supplying substantial funds.

A number of newspapers are under the influence of these groups. Some, like New Delhi's *Hindu Outlook*,

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are rabidly against the government. Others are nominally Congress supporters but emphasize an intensely communal outlook and distort the news to suit their purposes. Most Indian newspapers are no more impartial about Moslems and Pakistan than the Hearst papers in America are about Communists and Russia.

The attitude of the Brown-Shirt Brigades toward Mahatma Gandhi shows how fanatical they are. The

Mahatma, as everyone knows, has long opposed certain aspects of Hinduism, especially "untouchability," and like every Indian with any humanity he has been deeply shocked by the recent riots. The *Hindu Outlook* says of him, "Complete annihilation of everything that is Hindu is the underlying theme of all his utterances and actions." He has also been accused of implying that "the Hindus were the aggressors in East Punjab and hence should not complain of the Moslem atrocities in West Punjab." His Calcutta fast is ridiculed: "No one attaches any serious importance to Gandhi's fasts because everyone knows that they have only stunt value!" All this because he tried to keep Calcutta Hindus and Moslems from flying at each other's throats.

Gandhi is even criticized for advocating the use of Hindustani as a lingua franca for all India. Hindustani is a combination of Urdu, which has a Moslem base, and Hindi, which has a Hindu base. The extremists want Hindi to be the sole language of India.

IF THE communal fanatics dislike Gandhi and refer to him as a "freak of nature," they loathe Pandit Nehru and call him the "evil genius" of India. Some of the Sikhs in East Punjab, who are linked with the extremist Hindu groups by their hatred of Moslems and of those who want to live in peace with Moslems, even talk of "doing an Aung Sang to Nehru," that is, getting him out of the way by assassination as Aung Sang was got rid of in Burma.

Nehru is, of course, very much more vulnerable to attacks by orthodox Hindus than is Gandhi. A Socialist and agnostic, he was obviously embarrassed during the Independence Day celebrations on August 15 by some of the Hindu ceremonies performed over him. Furthermore, Pandit Nehru, one of the acknowledged masters of the English language, is much more at home in Urdu than in Hindi, as is plain from his radio talks.

The fierceness of the campaign against Nehru is due to the fact that he is the least communal-minded of the Indian government leaders and has not considered religion in making his appointments. He would solve India's problems by economic and social advances rather than by a retreat to communalism. He hoped that after India became a dominion he could turn his attention to agrarian reforms and other aspects of modernization. Instead, he has been occupied with trying to prevent further murderous outbursts and with caring for the victims. On one occasion, in Connaught Circus, the very center of New Delhi, he personally rescued two Moslem girls from a band of Sikhs. Naturally he is anathema to the extremists. An editorial in the September issue of the *Hindu Outlook* began, "We impeach the Nehru government for betraying the confidence of the innocent millions of Hindustan." Nehru is also blamed for supporting Indonesia, which will be a 90 per cent Moslem state.

Nehru is not only attacked directly but also through his sister, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, now ambassador to Moscow and delegate to the United Nations. The most recent issue of the *Hindu Outlook* accuses her of being responsible for Pakistan. One must read the actual words of the newspaper to appreciate the tortuous logic and the scurrilous implications of this lying charge:

> British statesmen wanted India to be a united and a strong country which would be useful to fight the Russian menace. For this purpose they transferred the complete power to the Congress on September 2, 1946.
>
> Certain incidents in America have changed the whole situation, and the British had to accept partition of India. In the U. N. Conference Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit advocated the cause of Indians in South Africa with great ability and ultimately India won the point against General Smuts.
>
> The personal charms of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit were mainly responsible for converting Molotov, the Russian Foreign Minister, to [the] Indian side, and that was the deciding factor in favor of India. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's friendship with Vishinsky is well known in international circles. But it was not friendship and charming manners alone that won Russian sympathy for India. Mrs. Pandit on behalf of India promised to form an Asiatic bloc under the leadership of Russia in return for this help. . . .
>
> When the Anglo-American allies were convinced that the transference of power to Congress meant India joining Russia and thus strengthening it, they changed their original plan and decided to befriend Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League. When Mr. Jinnah went to London through Mr. Churchill this friendship was cemented, and a plan to carve out a Pakistan state on the border of Russia was finalized.
>
> For the doubtful advantages of winning the case of Indians in South Africa, India has lost its integrity.
>
> Long live the charms of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and the international fame of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

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The Brown-Shirt Brigades have also been campaigning to eliminate all Moslems from the Indian government, including some who are supporters of Nehru. For example, they accuse Asaf Ali, now ambassador to the United States, of having acted as a spy for the British, corresponded secretly with Mr. Jinnah, and diverted arms machinery from India to Pakistan. Similarly baseless charges have been brought against other Moslems, such as Maulana Azad, who have remained loyal to the Indian National Congress. All these are vilified as "aliens" and "potential fifth columnists."

Instead of a government headed by Nehru the extremists want a government led by "strong Hindus and competent administrators." Many political observers believe that these elements would be happy if Premier Nehru were replaced by Deputy Premier Vallabhai Patel, who is a much more orthodox Hindu and much more communal-minded than either Gandhi or Nehru. Patel, for example, was willing to preside at the opening of a swimming pool in Bombay restricted to Hindus—one can hardly conceive of Nehru doing such a thing. This does not mean of course that the Hindu "Brown Shirts" completely indorse Mr. Patel, or that he shares their ideas. A recent *Hindu Outlook* says, "Not only Pandit Nehru but even Sardar Vallabhai Patel is in a fool's paradise. The Sardar still thinks that it is feasible to build a non-communal state composed of Hindus, Moslems, and other minorities. . . . Hindus have still not realized that a new enemy nation has come into existence as our neighbor."

AS YET the Hindu extremists have obtained only one post in the Cabinet—the Ministry of Industries and Supplies, which has gone to the Mahasabhaist, Dr. S. P. Mukerji. If they succeed in eliminating Nehru and installing a premier and ministers to their liking, they will try to convert India into a "completely Hindu state." In this state all the Hindu religious beliefs, including the sacredness of the cow and the untouchability regulations, would become state doctrines, and professing Islam would be an unlawful act. The Brown Shirts want this Hindu state "to put itself on a war footing immediately." They have already advised the government to "prepare the country for war with Pakistan" and demanded that it "impose conscription and recruit all young Hindus to the army." One contributor to a recent issue of *Hindu Outlook,* after repeating a number of typical fabrications and exaggerations, wrote, "I beseech you to consider the above facts and start preparations to meet the danger by immediately organizing the Hindus for *jehad* [religious war]."

Although few believe that the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh or other extremist organizations are likely to come into power in the near future, police reports indicate that they may cause further strife in Indian cities. A careful study of the riots which have disfigured India so horribly during the past fifteen months shows that the initiative was frequently taken by the Brown-Shirt Brigades. For example, in the Bihar killings, in which 15,000 or more Moslems lost their lives, the Hindu Mahasabha element within and outside the Bihar government spearheaded the attack. The riots at Garmukhteswar in the United Provinces last fall were incited by the R. S. S., which sent men to the fair being held there to deliver inflammatory speeches and shout provocative slogans.

In Delhi R. S. S. men, wearing white bands round their foreheads to identify them, cooperated with Sikh firebrands to kill or drive out the very substantial Moslem minority. Apparently they had made long and careful preparations. The attackers had lists of Moslem residences in the various districts and divided their forces to "take care of them." In a few days they had killed an estimated 3,000 Moslems, burned and looted many sections of the city, and driven scores of thousands to Pakistan or into miserable refugee camps. After this performance their propaganda squads went into action and said that this had been simply a "preventive measure," that the Delhi Moslems had been preparing an uprising. As proof they pointed to the unlicensed arms collected by the army and police from Moslem houses. However, there is no evidence of any such Moslem plot in Delhi. Undoubtedly the Moslems possessed unlicensed arms, but so did the Hindus and Sikhs.

At this writing the fighting in Delhi has finally ceased, but communal feeling still runs high, largely as a result of the influx of refugees with tales of their terrible experiences. Responsible leaders like Gandhi and Nehru are trying to relax the tension by aiding the refugees and insisting that all the crimes have not been committed by the Moslems. The R. S. S. and other Hindu extremists, however, take the stories of the refugees, exaggerate them, spread them to all corners of the Hindu community, and attempt to organize revenge. Their activities offer a grave menace to the Nehru government.

Drawings by Golden

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Del Vayo—Prosperity Is Indivisible

IN MY last article I discussed the Marshall plan in relation to Western European socialism. This week I want to examine it in the light of Eastern socialism. Two recent speeches at the United Nations—the first by Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia and the other by Oscar Lange of Poland—provide an excellent point of departure, for they sum up most cogently the feelings of the non-Communist left in Central and Eastern Europe.

Officially Jan Masaryk belongs to no party, but I do not think it arbitrary to class him among those progressive Europeans who accept the fact that the future pattern of their countries includes a larger measure of Socialist planning. In Masaryk a flair for epigrams and a curious blend of Slavic wit and Latin charm at times create the impression that he takes a rather light approach to world problems. But when he spoke at the General Assembly, he was in deadly earnest.

Oscar Lange is a long-standing member of the Polish Socialist Party and a distinguished economist. His address was one of the most penetrating analyses of Europe's economic tragedy the U. N. delegates have heard; it even won qualified praise from Willard L. Thorp, American representative on the Economic Commission. It will be said, of course, that Lange, like Masaryk, speaks for the Kremlin. But I am convinced that were he still a professor of economics at the University of Chicago, totally divorced from politics, he would have said exactly the same things.

Masaryk and Lange agreed that Europe is already firmly committed in the direction of socialism and will resist any attempt to force it back into the pre-war mold. With polite but ironic regret that his words might send shivers up the spines of certain countries which have flourished under rugged individualism, Masaryk declared that "nationalization of important parts of industry has become the irretrievable program of Europe today."

Lange built a remarkable case for socialist planning by comparing the achievements of his own country since the war's end with the proposals of the Paris conference. Taking the first recommendation of the sixteen-nation report, on the production effort, he pointed out that the index of Polish industrial production in the first six months of this year was 95 per cent of the pre-war monthly average. Moreover, Poland's increased coal output is contributing greatly to general European recovery. In regard to the recommendations on internal financial stability, he indicated that Poland has already attained the goals set by the Paris conference: prices have been stabilized and the Polish treasury shows a surplus for this year. As for economic cooperation among the participating countries, he revealed that although Polish trade with the Soviet Union is higher than ever before, it represents only 43 per cent of total exports, 57 per cent going to other countries. With hard facts and figures he demolished the arguments of the Western bloc-builders. Lange's speech should be reprinted in full and distributed among all those who prefer peace without a number to World War III. Paraphrasing Litvinov's historic sentence about the indivisibility of peace, the Polish spokesman warned his listeners that "prosperity, too, is indivisible."

A survey of what has happened since the Marshall plan was first proposed shows that Lange was not simply talking for effect. Negotiations to revive trade between East and West have been going on as steadily as if the famous "iron" curtain were really made of paper. Nor is it only the small countries which are seeking such trade; since August one of the major partners in the democratic crusade, Great Britain, has been carefully reexamining its commercial ties with other nations in the hope of securing an export market in the Balkans. Britain is desperately anxious to obtain from Eastern Europe raw materials, poultry, cheese, and other dairy products which it has been forced until now to import from distant colonies and dominions. And despite all the verbal warfare at Flushing Meadow, the Labor government is at this moment preparing to reopen negotiations for a trade agreement with Russia. This was Sir Stafford Cripps's first act as Britain's new "economic czar."

European recovery would have made far more rapid progress by now had the economic problem not been treated as a football in a contest between opposing power blocs. It ought rightly, Lange said, to have been the task of the United Nations from the start. He paid special homage to the work of the Economic and Social Council. Most of the talk in the U. N. corridors these days revolves about the failures of the world organization, and it was a refreshing change to listen to the Polish delegate's constructive examination of the work that has been accomplished. The press and radio have continuously played up the clash and bluster of the Security Council meetings and paid little attention to the problems handled by the Economic and Social Council in the past twelve months. It has, for example, prepared a scrupulously detailed report on economic conditions in Europe, including proposals for meeting the most urgent needs. The U. N., through the work of its specialized agencies, might become the fulcrum of the reconstruction effort. But the Economic Council and all its allied agencies were deliberately bypassed in the Marshall plan. Assurances that Secretary General Lie would be kept informed of decisions reached at the Paris conference did nothing to change the unilateral character of the American proposal.

Leaving aside its political implications, Lange believes that from the strict viewpoint of effective aid the report of the Paris conference has many pitfalls. Most of the foreign capital investments will be concentrated in Western Europe, among sixteen nations which constitute no economic entity. Only a United Europe will ever know peace, reconstruction, and prosperity. The present form and intention of the Marshall plan cannot satisfy any genuine Socialist whether he lives in the East or the West.

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Second-Class Children

BY GILBERT LAUE

IN THE United States, in the bread-basket of the world, there are children who can never have a second helping of food; children who never had a whole apple or a whole orange; babies who can't have the cod-liver oil the clinics prescribe; little girls who never wore a dress that wasn't second hand. These are the children whose fathers have died or deserted them, or whose parents were not married, or whose homes were broken up by divorce or the father's physical or mental incapacitation. These are the recipients of "aid to dependent children," as provided by the Social Security Act.

So that these boys and girls can have food, shelter, and clothing, and so that they can go to school, the federal government will match state-aid payments *up to a combined maximum* of $24 a month for one child and $15 a month for each additional child. Twelve states actually meet only the former federal maximum payments of $18 and $12. Some states add money to federally matched funds, up to specified limits. A few set no artificial ceiling on the cost of growing up, but in some of these aid is only rendered in "approved" cases. If the health and welfare of all of our future citizens is important, if we are unwilling that some of them should be given a second-class opportunity from the start, then every state must remove the ceilings on aid to dependent children and the strings attached to that aid. Average monthly assistance per family (not per child), as this year started, ranged from $26.32 in Mississippi—Texas awards just 20 cents more—to $107.77 in the state of Washington.

In Indiana the limit is set at $35 a month for a mother and one child. The Lake County Department of Public Welfare in that state, generally recognized as one of the best local departments in the country, decided to look into the results of this arbitrary maximum. Here are some of the conditions it uncovered:

A family living in a basement which is flooded after every rain; a mother and six children crowded into two basement rooms; three families sharing one broken toilet on the back porch; a mother who has put off a needed operation for ten years; five growing children dividing a quart of milk a day; three brothers who stayed out of school for two weeks because they had no shoes; a family whose aid-to-dependent-children grant lasts just eighteen days—the rest of the month the family borrows from the neighbors, or lives on beans and potato soup.

The department found one mother who had been able to see just two movies in sixteen years; another whose recreation was "going to town to get medicine"; children who are excluded from school because they are unkempt; children who eat at noontime only the extra sandwiches brought especially for that purpose by their compassionate classmates.

In many homes from three to ten people were jammed into one room. Family after family filled themselves with starchy foods, never able to purchase the "basic seven" the children are told about at school. Frequently no recreation could be afforded. Games, movies, newspapers, and radios cost money, and some sort of standard in dress is required for going to church, belonging to the Scouts, or taking part in school activities. And, finally, the department found excessive tuberculosis rates, much nervousness, slowness in school, postponed operations, slow starvation, and one death from malnutrition.

This is how dependent children are aided in the great Calumet industrial region, home of "the world's largest steel mills" and "the world's largest oil refinery."

Because *anything* is better than seeing their children hungry, many mothers go to work. The children may be left alone all day—but they will eat. Often a mother waits on table from six to midnight, and hopes against hope that the reports of her eldest daughter's sex delinquency aren't true. Other mothers move in with relatives although they know they aren't welcome, although their sons and daughters are told every day that they are a burden and a nuisance.

Anything is better than having no roof over your children's heads. So if a man offers to pay the rent, can a mother say no? If she takes it, she can stretch the government check to cover other necessities—until she gets caught and the government aid is cut off.

But the Lake County Department of Public Welfare found not only poverty, sickness, misery, and fear; it found courage and even hopefulness among these mothers. It found them confident that "things will be better some day." They say: "Maybe, I can get a good job next month. . . . . Maybe, my daughter will get a raise. . . . Maybe, my son can stay in school. . . . My health may be better next month. . . . Maybe, we can get an apartment of our own. . . . Maybe, I can move away where people won't know my baby is illegitimate . . . next month or next year . . . or the next.

GILBERT LAUE is a public-relations consultant for health and welfare agencies, and a former editor of Public Welfare.

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Things will really get better only when Americans face the fact that many children in this well-fed country are hungry most of the time, when the general public recognizes the disgraceful inadequacy of the aid-to-dependent-children stipend, and when state legislators and national Congressmen no longer have the face to tell their constituents that $24 a month is luxury.

Is adequate aid to dependent children too expensive? In Indiana, an average state in terms of income, it would cost less than 85 cents per capita per year to give dependent children a diet including the "seven basic" foods and to provide decent housing and decent clothes to wear. It would tax each Indiana citizen less than the price of a haircut. To offset part of the handicap imposed on a child for being dependent in a low-income state, the Social Security Act can and should be amended to provide for greater federal aid to poorer states.

It goes without saying that the princely maximums of $24 and $15 for federal matching should be done away with altogether. The cost of raising a fatherless child is too often illogically balanced against taxes. It can really be balanced only against the cost of having failed our future citizens, the greatest resource of our democracy.

Can Private Capital Go Abroad?

BY S. BERACHA

[*The memorandum which follows answers a question thousands of Americans have been asking: In these days of huge government loans and other plans for the resuscitation of broken European economies what are the chances for private investment in Western Europe? M. Beracha, who is Economic Adviser to the French government, sent this explanation to Sylvia Porter, financial editor of the New York* Post, *who quoted a few sentences from it in a recent column. We are indebted to Miss Porter and her paper for permission to publish M. Beracha's full statement.*]

THERE has been a great deal of discussion recently about the desirability of foreign private investments in France and other European countries as opposed to foreign government loans.

It is quite evident that France, with its controlled economy and with the majority of its key industries nationalized, prefers government loans to private investments. This is not, however, always in the interest of the lending nation; not only for reasons of profit—although, theoretically at least, an investment brings in more than a loan—but also because public loans always present budgetary problems which are avoided by private investment.

On the other hand, private foreign investors will encounter great technical difficulties in France and other countries as a result of those countries' over-all plans for reconstruction and the nationalization of many industries. As the economic systems in the Old World are today far removed from what is called free enterprise, its countries cannot provide the traditional securities of the capitalist system. The following are some of the problems which will confront foreign investors:

France, for instance, insists on the necessity of exercising ample control over any private capital which is to be invested in the country, in order to be able to determine the amount which should go into one or another industry. It cannot encourage the development of any enterprise outside the framework of the Monnet Plan for the Reequipment and Modernization of France. Moreover, it must limit foreign shares in certain industries in order to assure the industry's and the country's independence. Since French private investments are themselves controlled and directed, foreign capital would not suffer any discrimination in being subjected to controlled diversion toward essential industries such as textiles or paper. This would eliminate the possibility of its being used for the production of, let us say, Coca-Cola. In accordance with the decision of the International Trade Conference in Geneva, any foreign private investment would be subject to "pre-authorization" by the government of the country where it is to be made.

Another problem will be whether foreign investors will have the right to take their profits or even their capital out of the country without restrictions, once they have decided to liquidate their investment. This would be an extremely ticklish question, if it arose. Destitute countries, such as France, which have to resort to foreign credits just because of their trade deficit, cannot permit free movement of capital out of the country, at least for some time to come. On the other hand, France cannot possibly prevent investors from collecting their interest, since this would discourage all foreign investment.

France is therefore willing to find a temporary solution, one which would be in accordance with the principle of free disposition of profits or even capital. It would entail some restrictions in its application, restrictions which would be determined by changing conditions, essentially those involving the balance of trade. If, for example, outgoing foreign capital were balanced by incoming foreign capital, there would be no reason to prevent foreign investors from taking foreign currency out of the country. In spite of such difficulties, agreements can be reached between countries making investments (such as the United States) and those needing foreign capital (such as France) on the basis of the existing economic facts and within the framework of the International Trade Charter.

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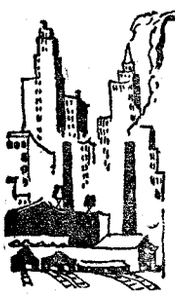

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

European Customs Union—I

FROM the moment that the Marshall plan first burst on the world there has been much discussion of the possibility of a European customs union. To many people both in this country and in Europe the project appeared to be a natural, if not essential, corollary of the mutual self-help program which was to be a condition of further American aid. Nevertheless, it was at a fairly late stage in its deliberations that the Committee of European Cooperation turned its attention to the question. Indeed, it might have been omitted from the agenda altogether but for the prodding of the State Department and the insistence of the French and Italian governments, which seem to have reached some very realistic conclusions about the obsolescence of economic nationalism.

The British government has not been very enthusiastic about the proposal. On the one hand, if a customs union were organized in Western Europe, Britain could not afford to hold aloof; on the other, membership in such a union might prove irreconcilable with the existing empire-preference system. Conscious of this dilemma, the Foreign Office has been inclined to take the line that obstacles to such a project are too formidable and prospects of overcoming them too slight to make discussion worth while. Nevertheless, before the end of the Paris conference the British delegation did agree to join with thirteen of the sixteen nations represented on the committee in creating a study group "for the purpose of examining the problems involved, and the steps to be taken, in the formation of a customs union or customs unions."

Meanwhile, the report of the committee admits that Europe would benefit from the elimination of internal trade barriers. "The formation of a larger free-trade area in Europe," it declares, "could be expected to lead to greater efficiency in many sectors of production, and this would not only increase the wealth of the countries concerned but would also be of assistance in solving the fundamental problem of the European balance of payments." The report hastens to add that solution of this problem requires in addition cooperation with the rest of the world—an incontestable point, since even an economically unified Europe would be far from self-sufficient. Nor can one quarrel with the committee's insistence that formation of a customs union, involving as it must the most complex adjustments in the economies of the participating countries, cannot be achieved "by a stroke of the pen."

Despite the inconclusiveness of the report, it does represent a considerable advance, for never before has so definite an approach to the subject been made officially by so large a group of nations. Moreover, the meeting in Paris provided an opportunity for preliminary discussion of several regional customs unions of the kind already organized by Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg (Benelux). The committee notes that in the course of the conference France and Italy arranged for a joint investigation of the conditions under which a French-Italian customs union might be achieved. Similarly, the four Scandinavian countries are to examine the possibilities of eliminating their mutual tariff frontiers, and Greece and Turkey are to explore the question of a regional customs union. It is therefore fair to say that the idea of breaking down internal European barriers to trade is no longer the exclusive property of theorists but is definitely on the political map.

Considered from the purely economic point of view, the case for creating as large a free-trade area as possible in Europe is overwhelming. The Continent has great resources, human and material, which should provide for higher average standards of living than its people have hitherto enjoyed. But economic progress has been checked by a network of boundaries restricting the free movement of goods, capital, and labor. Before the war the sixteen nations represented on the Paris committee had a population of 206,000,000. That was an average of 12,250,000 per country—far too small to allow for efficient operation of modern industries which require mass markets to support mass production. Some half-dozen of these countries, for instance, have automobile industries, but between them they do not turn out nearly as many cars as General Motors does in an average year. The result is that despite low labor costs European cars cannot compete with American, while motoring is an unattainable convenience and pleasure for the European masses.

The present is in many ways an ideal time to lay the foundations for a free-trade Europe. In many countries industries have been shattered by the war; nearly everywhere they need retooling. Labor and capital alike could be saved if they were reorganized and located to serve Continental rather than national markets. Before the war severe unemployment in most Western European countries was so big a factor that advocates of free trade could not get a hearing; the whole trend was toward "protecting" jobs. Today most of the same countries are plagued by man-power shortages and are at their wits' end to find ways of increasing production. Free trade could make it possible to get increased production at reduced labor cost by enabling each region of the Continent to specialize in the industrial or agricultural activities for which it is most fitted by reason of climate, raw materials, location in relation to markets, and availability of experienced man-power. It is ridiculous, for instance, for Britain to grow peaches and grapes in hothouses at great cost instead of importing these fruits from France; the French, for their part would not, if Europe were rationally organized, duplicate British facilities for producing certain kinds of machinery.

Yet if the arguments for European economic union are strong, it must be admitted that the obstacles to be overcome are very great. They cannot be surmounted by any sudden rush but will yield only to the most patient demolition workers. It would be a mistake, therefore, for the United States to demand agreement on a customs union as a prerequisite to Marshall-plan aid. Yet we can legitimately press the point that gradual elimination of intracontinental trade barriers is essential to the kind of economic integration on which European recovery depends and still more to the future improvement of living standards.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Books and Bookkeeping in America

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE problems of publishing since the war boom faded and inflation began have been much discussed. Bennett Cerf presented the publishers' side of the case in the *Saturday Review of Literature* some weeks ago. May a few remarks be permitted a non-publisher who has written and read books for many years, on two continents, and under the most varied economic conditions, personal and general? The accepted explanation of the book crisis seems to be that the increase in costs of production and the fact that the price of the finished book cannot be increased in anything like the same proportion have created a situation in which only best-sellers with fat subsidiary rights can keep the publisher in business. It is said that a publisher today must sell at least 10,000 copies of a book in order to break even, and that the first 100,000 sales of a current best-seller netted its publishers only $700.

This is indeed a serious situation. Assuming that no sane publisher would dare to publish books which were not sure to sell at least 10,000 copies or have a good chance of being taken by a book club or sold to the movies, it is a situation that could actually endanger the development of American literature. For the development of any national literature is mainly dependent upon books which sell less than 10,000 and are not even looked at by movie scouts. Moreover, the absence of flourishing "experimental" literature would eventually affect the supply of best-sellers.

When I came to this country in 1936, I tried to find out why there were no cheap books, books selling for twenty-five and fifty cents. Everybody explained to me that booksellers would not order them and readers would not buy them. Shortly afterward the million-dollar market in pocket books developed.

To the newcomer other features of the American book trade were equally puzzling. There are certainly not enough bookstores, and the magic bookshop run by the scholarly book-lover which becomes a refuge and a haven for young and old fellow book-lovers is practically non-existent. It is my impression that the average American bookseller does not like books—and is therefore predestined for bad business, like a doctor who does not like people. He is in many instances uninformed and uneducated, and usually seems interested only in getting rid of his staple best-sellers. He is unable and unwilling to serve as an expert adviser to the more discriminating reader. The stock of the average bookshop is ridiculously limited if not small. The life span of a book is as short as that of a blue baby. To acquire an early title of even the most famous living writers it is necessary to search as for the alchemist's stone.

Why is it that Americans do not have and do not buy more books? In Europe an educated person, such as a physician or a teacher or a cultivated business man or working man, will most likely have a library of 500 to 1,000 books. Here, I often see no more than 50 to 100 books in the apartments of intelligent and cultured people—and I remember one outstanding publisher who had no books at all in his luxurious penthouse! There isn't a self-respecting family in Europe which does not own sets of classical writers and the collected works of outstanding contemporary authors. Before the war there was hardly a German family that did not have the collected works of Gerhart Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, or a French family without a complete Zola and Maupassant. Four different German editions of the complete works of Stendhal were available at the time. How many families in this country own the collected works of Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, Poe, not to mention Hemingway? not to mention the standard European authors? As Margaret Marshall recently pointed out, one reason, and a scandalous one, why Americans in general are not familiar with the works of Henry James is that no inexpensive complete edition of America's most accomplished novelist has been issued in this country.

Of course, there is not much room for books in this country. The bookseller says that he cannot stock more books because rents are too high. The city apartment dweller cannot buy more books because he has no place to put them—the average book-club subscriber has reached the maximum capacity of his bookcases in about ten years. But in most apartments, nevertheless, there is room for more bookcases—and to me one of the curious things about this standardized country is the lack of standardized, inexpensive, and well-built bookcases.

This is a problem which the publisher might help to solve. It would certainly be to his interest to do so. Couldn't publishers do something to help booksellers get more space—and better-trained and more enthusiastic salesmen? Couldn't they encourage the manufacture of inexpensive bookcases and also the architectural integration of book shelves in apartments and homes? Couldn't they encourage book-collecting? There is no reason why the collecting of books—not by twos and threes, or even dozens, but by hundreds—should not be as widespread as the collecting of stamps. Today in America it is a hobby for the happy few.

As for the books themselves, is there no way of reducing the cost of production? It seems to me there might be more differentiation in format and price between books to be collected and reread and books to be read and thrown away. Why should a thriller be produced and marketed in the same manner as a first-rate work of literature?

On the other hand it might be a good idea if all books were printed first in a cheap edition, and those worth keeping then issued in a more durable and beautiful form. The French have always printed cheap paper-bound copies of a given book for the casual reader and special editions of the same book on exquisite paper for the collector. Publishers, if they followed this custom, could charge less for the ordinary edition, and thereby expand their market, and charge much more than they do now for the special edition. They would be performing a service to American litera-

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ture by stimulating and developing a love for beautiful books.

As for cheap editions of good books, these would perform a service of another kind. Dickens's novels were first successfully published in cheap serialized issues like magazines. Why not try this again? A German publisher is now printing Shakespeare and Homer on a rotary press in the form of newspapers. It does not sound appealing, but it is at least a way of distributing literature inexpensively.

One way *not* recommended for improving the sale of books is an increase in sensational mass advertising, which apparently devours a great deal of the publisher's profit. Surely a book does not require and should not have the same kind of promotion as an automobile or a toothpaste. The money might better be spent on improving distribution, on improving quality of design, on developing better bookstores, on inculcating the bookstore habit, on furthering good literary criticism, and on increasing the dignity, the charm, the value, and the availability of books.

Antillean Agony

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE IN THE CARIBBEAN. By Paul Blanshard. The Macmillan Company. $5.

IF YOU could take a magic plane equipped with a glass floor and wing your way out over the islands of the Caribbean, they would appear, so our author assures us, like "tiny discs of serenity in a blue-green sea." But step ashore on any of them from commercial plane or steamer and you soon discover that their apparent serenity is deceptive. As a matter of fact, the islands are a boiling caldron of misery and mass discontent. And to show the reasons why is the purpose of Mr. Blanshard's remarkable synthesis of history and descriptive sociology, succinctly packed into the 379 pages of this book.

Throughout the Caribbean islands the primary problems are economic and imperialistic, but because the overwhelming majority of their colonial inhabitants are Negroes and Negroids these issues become entwined with those of race and color. Only Puerto Rico can boast a predominantly white population. Since

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they were acquired before the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the fact that there are European colonies on our doorstep has provoked little concern in this country, even during those periods when we were exhibiting an unprecedented enthusiasm for democracy in other parts of the world. Of the groups of colonies in this region, three belong to European powers and one to the United States. In an area about the size of California live some six million people, without the bonds of a common tradition, race, language, or anything else. Even the British possessions, the largest single group, do not have a common currency. As a late comer in the imperialist game, we prefer to speak euphemistically of our colonies —Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands —as "unincorporated territories of the United States." Perhaps this helps to explain our vacillating policies toward these dependencies as well as our exampled generosity in money and material aid.

The three independent republics in the area—Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, once a part of the mosaic of empire—are included in the author's review because they are within the American economic sphere and are influenced to a degree by the overpopulation and poverty of their neighbors.

Since history, with its numerous and diverse contributing circumstances, explains the present plight of the Caribbean colonies, Mr. Blanshard uses it as warp in weaving his background tapestry, his woof being the sociology of the area. The history of the islands, ever since their discovery by Columbus, has been violent. They have been under the rule of first one European power and then another. They have known African slavery and rebellion to the extent that the "odor of black burning flesh still hangs over the Caribbean, and no white ruling class will ever escape it." Today the white man's rule is dying.

As agrarian appendages to their "mother countries" the islands suffer from one-crop and lopsided economies —most of them even have to import their food. Work in practically all of them is seasonal, and wages are unbelievably low, two to three dollars a week being the average cash farm wage, with urban industry paying not much more. In other words, the people are agonizingly poor in money and goods. Malnutrition and disease are almost endemic; illiteracy is widespread, since the few schools do not reach the masses.

Except in the American and French colonies, the people have little voice in their government. One result of the strikes and disturbances which swept the area in the late thirties, with their demand for economic and social reform, has been new political concessions, especially by the British. Jamaica has been granted an experimental constitution based upon universal adult suffrage and a two-chamber parliament; the income qualifications for exercise of the franchise in Barbados has been reduced and the number of voters increased. Although colonial governors continue in their habits and mode of life as proconsuls, they are by no means as reactionary as they used to be, despite the rather despicable recent arbitrary acts of a few of them.

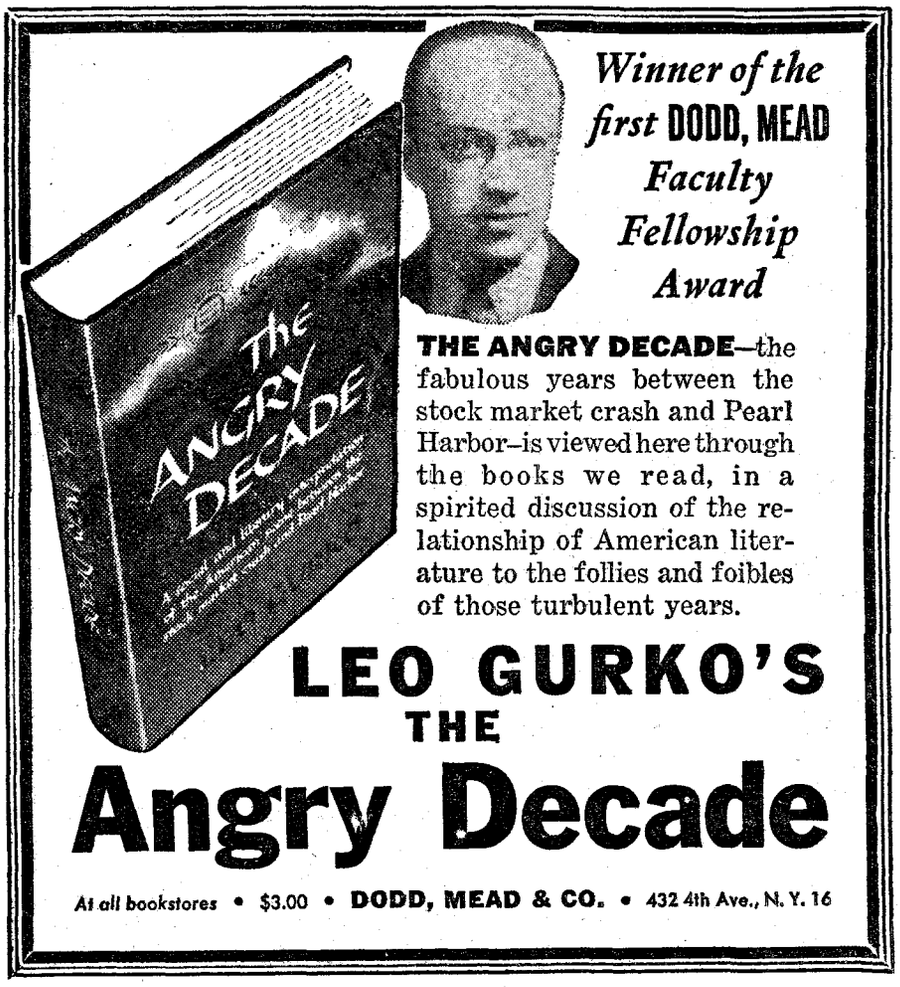
Is there any immediate solution for these problems? Our author thinks not, for after admitting that the colonial system in the Caribbean is "undemocratic, antiquated, inefficient, selfish, cruel, and snobbish," he has to recognize that the system is a going concern and will in all probability last for many years more.

As a State Department official stationed in the Caribbean from 1942 to 1946, Mr. Blanshard was in an excellent strategic position to study the problems of the Caribbean. And he made such brilliant use of his opportunities that his book is the best general study of the area to date. JAMES W. IVY

California's Golden Youth

CALIFORNIA GOLD. By Rodman W. Paul. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

NEXT January 24 is the centenary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, and no doubt California will be celebrating the occasion with suitable pageantry. We may also expect a spate of books and articles recalling the more picturesque phases of the great rush to the Golden West. Mr. Paul's book, however, is not an advance section of the anniversary gravy train. It is a scholarly work, the fruit of long research, de-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signed to dissipate the "thick haze of romantic legend and mythology" which settled over the mining country as a result of the literary efforts of Bret Harte and Mark Twain and, more particularly, their imitators.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Paul's book is worthy but dull. Unsentimental treatment does not detract from the fascination of the subject; moreover, the author has enlivened his pages by reprinting some miners' songs full of authentic folk melancholy and by reproducing some excellent contemporary prints.

Mr. Paul writes of the kind of people who went to the diggings. He tells how they got there; how they lived, worked, and acquired their skills; how they evolved a mining code; how the mining districts developed from frontier camps into fully organized communities. It all happened in the quarter-century from 1848 to 1873 which his book covers. First came the brief period of bonanza discoveries; then the years of gradual transition, during which the miners strove to compensate for declining yields by developing better techniques. The final stage saw a transformation to industrial maturity, with large-scale capitalist enterprises responsible for most of the output and the free and independent miner replaced by the "wage slave."

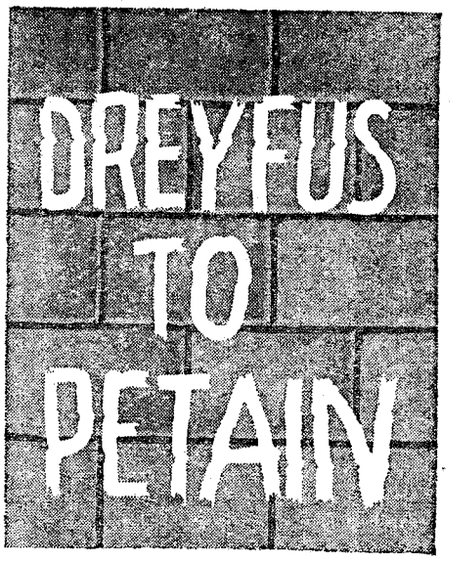
A point which the author might perhaps have stressed more strongly is that California provided the first example of democratic exploitation of the precious metal. Never before in history had a great goldfield been opened up on a free-for-all basis. There were no royalties to pay to either state or landowner, and in the early stages of the rush, when placers were worked with the crudest equipment, capital requirements were unimportant. Luck and energy were the only passports to fortune.

But the day of the independent craftsman proved short. By the end of 1851 the first flush of easy gold-getting was over and miners were forced to turn to techniques too elaborate for the individual or the small partnership. For a time the difficulty was overcome by the formation of cooperative associations of miners who pooled their claims and their labor. But the long-term trend was to capitalist enterprise. It began with the formation of corporations to build dams and flumes to supply the miners with the water they needed in ever-increasing volume. It was firmly established as the exhaustion of alluvial deposits turned attention to the quartz ore bodies, development of which required large amounts of capital.

Although the evolution of the California mines was so rapid, the gold rush, actually, was rather slow in getting under way owing to the lack of communications. The real stampede from the Eastern states and Europe did not begin until 1849. Meanwhile the early prospectors from the small American communities around San Francisco were handicapped by lack of technical knowledge. The Spanish Americans had a contribution to offer, but they were not made very welcome. As the rush progressed, however, it brought in men with experience gained in the now almost forgotten southern Appalachian goldfield as well as workers from the Old World mining districts of Cornwall and Saxony. The traditional skills of these emigrants were invaluable, especially in such work as tunneling and shaft-sinking. But it was not long before new problems and the increased necessity of saving labor inspired the development of new techniques and machines. Hydraulicing—the use of powerful jets of water to break down whole hills of gravel—was, according to Mr. Paul, an original California invention.

The experience gained in California was a powerful factor in speeding mineral development throughout the West, for the state was the starting-point for numerous later rushes—to Nevada, Montana, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and even South America. The merest rumor of a new strike anywhere in the Rocky Mountain region was enough to speed hundreds of footloose prospectors on their way.

Gold launched California on its spectacular career and for a time completely dominated its economy. Whether the glittering metal added more to the state's wealth than it subtracted from it is a debatable point which Mr. Paul has sidestepped, perhaps wisely. Against whatever capital fund gold contributed to the development of more permanent resources must be balanced the vast damage to soil, forests, and water supplies caused by the mining methods used. On the other hand, here as in many another region before and since,



Although half a century has passed, the Dreyfus Affair still remains the most mysterious, the *fishiest* of all *causes celebres*. And here is the eternal plot: on one side the Big Brass, the ousted aristocracy and the subversive elements of the Church; on the other the intellectuals, the progressives and the people; in the middle, a defenseless dupe who conveniently happened to be Jewish.

In this keenly searching book, Herzog illumines the most beclouded details of the Affair, demonstrates and clarifies the ties between it and the entire French social, economic and political life since that time and offers a necessary tool for the understanding of France today. Obviously not a book for all comers, but a volume filled with rich rewards for readers who think.

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gold proved an economic catalytic agent, making possible a rapid growth of population and stimulating the creation of genuine wealth. That perhaps is its real magic. KEITH HUTCHISON

G. B. S.

GENEVA, CYMBELINE REFINISHED, AND GOOD KING CHARLES. By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

AT NINETY and more, not even G. B. S. can be expected to add anything to his reputation, and it would be too much to say that the contents of the present volume—written between 1937 and 1945—will do anything of the sort. At best we get mostly repetition of familiar ideas; at worst something that sounds a bit like such a parody as Beerbohm might do of the real Shaw. But for all that, there is still an astonishing energy and a liveliness which would unmistakably identify any one of the more than two hundred pages. All the characters, including the Hitler and Mussolini of "Geneva," the Newton and Charles II of the other play, even the Imogen of the new attempt to improve Shakespeare, talk like Shaw rather than like themselves; but, as in the old days, they define an intellectual position more sharply and clearly than their alleged prototypes could ever have done it and they take us again into that delightful Shavian world where everything is so inhumanly logical that one wonders how the world manages to keep in so much unnecessary trouble. The prefaces are short, for Shaw, but what other writer between nine and ninety could make what is probably nonsense sound so entertainingly obvious as the sentences which follow: "Plot has always been the curse of serious drama. . . . It is so out of place there that Shakespeare never could invent one. Unfortunately, instead of taking nature's hint and discarding plots, he borrowed them all over the place and got in trouble through having to unravel them in the last act."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Opium War

FOREIGN MUD. Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglio at Canton in the 1830's and the Anglo-Chinese War That Followed. By Maurice Collis. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

MR. COLLIS'S previous books have not only shown him to be a gifted historian working in unfamiliar fields but established him as one of the ten best contemporary writers in English. Some, however, feared that his qualities were so much the product of his rare material that he would fail with a grosser theme. It is not so. "Foreign Mud" has for its subject matter an event which is recounted in any college textbook in Far Eastern relations, the Opium War between Britain and China. In itself the theme is a sordid one, and "Foreign Mud" might have been a raging and scornful tale, with consequent loss of moral authority and delight for the reader. Instead it is handled with restraint and objectivity; yet the moral facts are not in the least obscured. As Mr. Collis calmly describes it, British conduct might be summed up in two Chinese characters which Viceroy Lu officially prescribed as the name for Lord Napier, "Laboriously Vile."

Mr. Collis writes a lovely luminous prose, so that whether his material be of a Venetian voluptuousness or Rembrandtian gloom, his pictures have the formal clarity of a Canaletto and the softly glowing surface of a Vermeer. Nor is the style merely imposed upon the material. As if long years in the Far East had given the Anglo-Irishman an exquisite appreciation of good manners, there is in all he writes a delicate suggestion of ceremonial. The Western rhythm of his narrative is matched with a grave decorum, so that his humor has a rare piquancy and his unimpassioned censures an absolute authority.

The Opium War was not a strange byroad in history, "Foreign Mud," therefore, has less exotic charm than "The Land of the Great Image." And perhaps because the coastal ports of China have been often described, it contains less descriptive imagery than previous books. But the spareness suits the tale, and as compensation the volume is illustrated with plates that in themselves are a delight. I cannot praise the book too highly. It is a model for writers of history. RALPH BATES

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Fiction in Review

TIMOTHY PEMBER'S "The Needle's Eye" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3) is a difficult book to write about because to praise it in proportion to its marked gifts of taste and grace is to praise it out of all proportion to its interest as a whole work, while to emphasize its insufficiencies is surely to deprive the author of an encouragement he very much warrants. Mr. Pember is an Englishman now resident here. His novel, set in England, is about the young grandson of an English aristocrat who falls in love with the young daughter of a radical journalist. Through Catherine Byrne and her father Harold Wick learns a new view of the structure of society; he becomes a factory worker and an active trade unionist. The story is thin—far too thin to carry the weight

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of Mr. Pember's sensibility. Indeed, its paucity of dramatic narrative is the major deficiency of "The Needle's Eye," a lack for which no amount of careful writing or delicate observation can compensate.

On the other hand, Mr. Pember's sensibility is not of the variety we usually find in plotless novels—and here is one of the chief signs of his grace. The author of "The Needle's Eye" is not himself over-subjective or primarily concerned, like most "sensitive" writers, with asserting his own emotional dominance over the common universe. Rather, he is over-concerned with the too tenuous states of feeling of his characters. This exaggerated interest in motive and response no doubt has its source in Mr. Pember's apprenticeship to Henry James. But the excesses which we forgive in the teacher because he has so much else to give us, unfortunately make for a good deal of tedium in the pupil.

Of course there is a pleasant anomaly in the mere fact that someone of Mr. Pember's leftist political leanings should have put himself to school to James. The choice must be recognized, I think, as an aspect of the generosity of spirit with which Mr. Pember approaches the entire business of writing. In these days, when it is supposed that one can become a novelist simply by self-proclamation, he brings a rare quality of respect to his craft.

Similarly, in this period when literature no less than politics is so busily engaged in dehumanizing the individual, it is remarkable indeed to find any novelist, but especially a "socially conscious" one, who has Mr. Pember's respect for people, who treats them as human beings, not as symbols. "The Needle's Eye" is a novel about economic inequality, but Mr. Pember, far from parceling out virtue in proportion to lack of privilege, and sin in proportion to social advantage, maintains an equal distance of insight and sympathy in relation to all the characters in his story, class heroes and class villains alike. Thus he is able to admit the weakness of Mr. Byrne, with whose politics he is clearly in agreement, and even to mock the extreme emotions of inferiority of an Indian fellow-student of Harold's at Oxford; and he is willing to acknowledge that Harold's squirearchical grandparents are people of large personal dignity and charm.

It is precisely because of these uncommon marks of merit that one wishes Mr. Pember could have conceived a larger narrative outline for his novel, that he had had more things happen, and that he had revealed his characters more through open dramatic conflict and less through reflection. That he is perfectly competent to handle a more open method is evidenced by the few scenes where he tries it—the scene, for example, where Catherine's father comes to say goodby to Harold at the home of his grandparents; or the scenes in the English nursing-home to which Catherine is committed when she has tuberculosis. How much more we learn about the character of Mr. Byrne from the one short passage in which he receives the brunt of upper-class inhospitality than from the endless pages of analysis through the eyes of his daughter; how much more we care about Catherine Byrne when she is permitted to lose her temper at a sadistic doctor than on the basis of her self-probings! It is in sudden moments of this kind that "The Needle's Eye" springs into full free life and that Mr. Pember gives us a glimpse of the direction in which he must work if he is to give us the compelling fiction for which he is, in fundamental attitude, so well equipped.

DIANA TRILLING

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE exhibition of fifty-eight paintings by thirteen contemporary British artists, organized by the Albright Art Gallery of Buffalo and now running at the Metropolitan (through October 31), is one of the saddest samples of recent transatlantic art that I have seen. The new French painters revealed at the Whitney late last winter were aesthetically corrupt in so far as they tried to make a show of vitality out of the patched-together debris of a great immediate past; but these British painters seem to function on a level of potency so low as to make the very faking of vitality, interest, or novelty altogether out of the question. They are sincere—which is not the same thing as honest—simply because they have not the energy to be anything else. Though the tendencies they embody are various, ranging from modified impressionism to the outrightly abstract, almost all the painters present are emphatically characterized by a lack of conviction that is most marked with respect to color but also affects structure, unity, surface, and everything else required of painting as an art. There is also an inclination, not surprising in the light of the past of English art, to weaken the influences of French painting in the direction of book illustration; uncertain surfaces, the false and meaningless diffidence with which paint is laid on, dull receding color make these pictures shrink to page size, and we forget that they hang on walls.

Henry Moore's tinted drawings are as tasteful and monotonous as ever. John Tunnard, whose abstract oil paintings used to show such remarkable quality in their drawing ten years ago, has declined into a kind of gimcrackery that plays with deep space in a way resembling Dali's; even so, Tunnard retains a bit of distinction. John Piper is an eclectic virtuoso of some skill but little importance. Stanley Spencer lacks that elemental subtlety without which painting cannot attain to the status of art. William Coldstream is represented by a single very sensitive landscape that, conventional as it is in its pre-Fauvist way, meets its own terms successfully; yet on this evidence he could hardly be called a serious modern painter. The most authentic work present, and that by far, is David Jones's singing water colors; however low their pressure and however derivative of Paris expressionism their means, these contribute a little some-

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thing not seen before. Here the tentativeness is not misplaced, is not a result of the artist's difficulties with his medium, but a true and intended expression of his feeling. The other painters shown, of whom the less said the better, are Edward Bawden, Edward Burra, Robert Colquhoun, Frances Hodgkins, Vivian Pitchforth, Eric Ravilious, and Graham Sutherland.

Bearing in mind Matthew Arnold's remark on "a tendency in Americans . . . to overrate and overpraise what is not really superior," it is with trepidation that I cite the more or less abstract student paintings of a few young Americans, none over thirty, as a demonstration of what begins to seem our superior literacy in the practice, if not consumption, of art. None of the ten artists presented—in a single picture each—at the "New Provincetown '47" exhibition at Jacques Seligmann's last month has yet achieved a personality, and there is still far too little assertion of individual temperament in their work: yet how high the level is on which most of them paint, how firmly they wield their medium, and with what awareness of the true direction of all that is serious in modern art. In this last respect at least three or four of them already paint more importantly than anyone at the British show; and at least seven of the ten embody a *painterliness* that none of the British except David Jones even surmises.

That "school" paintings could ever go this far in taste, sophistication, and competence in this country is something no one would have anticipated ten years ago. Think only of the crudeness we still see exhibited every year at the Whitney Annual by supposedly mature and actually accepted artists. Almost all of the exhibitors at Seligmann's have studied at one time or another with Hans Hofmann, and credit for the level of their work—in a country for whose art the question of *level* is the most crucial of all—belongs to him doubly. I doubt whether any other American group show this year will reach an equally high and consistent level.

By way of a postscript on the British show, let me say that I would hesitate to judge contemporary British painting on the basis of the evidence here. Museum directors had their hand in the selection of the pictures and painters for the show—and we should know by now what museum directors do with this sort of thing. Also, Matthew Smith, Victor Pasmore, and Ivor Hichens are missing. (I have seen Pasmore's work only in reproduction, but I am sure that reproductions cannot lie beyond a certain point; and in this late impressionist the English may have one of the four or five best—or at least prettiest—minor painters of the new age.) I also suspect that, aside from the ineffable Burra, a better selection could have been made of the work of every one of the painters shown at the Metropolitan.

Films

JAMES AGEE

THE elementary beginning of true reason, that is, of reason which involves not merely the forebrain but the entire being, resides, I should think, in the ability to recognize oneself, and others, primarily as human beings, and to recognize the ultimate absoluteness of responsibility of each human being. (I can most briefly suggest what I mean by a genuine recognition of human beings as such by recommending that you see the Italian movie "Shoeshine" and that you compare it in this respect with almost any other movie you care to name.) I am none too sure of my vocabulary, but would suppose this can be called the humanistic attitude. It is still held, no doubt, by scattered individuals all over the world, is still nominally the germinal force of Western civilization, and must still sleep as a potential among almost unimaginably large numbers and varieties of people; but no attitude is more generally subject to disadvantage, dishonor, and misuse today, and no other is so nearly guaranteed extinction. Even among those who preserve a living devotion to it, moreover, few seem to have come by it naturally, as a physical and sensuous fact, as well as a philosophical one; and fewer still give any

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evidence of enjoying or applying it with any of the enormous primordial energy which, one would suppose, the living fact would inevitably liberate in a living being. I realize that I must be exaggerating when I think of it as hardly existing in a pure and vigorous form anywhere in contemporary art or living, but I doubt that I am exaggerating much: I know, in any case, that "Shoeshine," because it furnishes really abundant evidence of the vitality of this attitude, seems to stand almost alone in the world, and to be as restoring and jubilant a piece of news as if one had learned that a great hero whom one had thought to be murdered or exiled or corrupted still lives in all his valor.

This is one of the few fully alive, fully rational films ever made. And one of the beauties of it is that its best intelligence seems to have operated chiefly on an instinctual level, forcing the men who made the film, who are I gather no more than very sincere and quite talented, to do better than the best their talents alone might promise them and better, I imagine, than they planned or foresaw. I suspect that all they intended in this story of two street boys who are caught almost by accident into the corrective machinery of the state, and are destroyed, was an effective work of protest, a work of social art; and that it was more out of the aroused natural honesty of their souls, and their complete devotion to their subject, that they went so much deeper. "Shoeshine" is all that a work of social art ought to be, would have to be to have any worth whatever, and almost never is. It is remarkably perceptive and compassionate in its study of authority and of those who embody authority, serve it, and suffer in and under it. It is also the rarest thing in contemporary art—a true tragedy. This tragedy is cross-lighted by pathos, by the youthfulness and innocence of the heroes, and I suspect that the makers of the film were themselves confused by pathos, but it is stern, unmistakable tragedy as well. The heroes would presumably not have been destroyed unless they had been caught into an imposed predicament; but they are destroyed not by the predicament but by their inability under absolutely difficult circumstances to preserve faith and reason toward themselves and toward each other, and by their best traits and noblest needs as well as by their worst traits and ignoblest needs. Moreover, the film is in no sense a despairing or "defeatist" work, as some people feel it is. I have seldom seen the more ardent and virile of the rational and Christian values more firmly defended, or the effects of their absence or misuse more pitifully and terribly demonstrated.

The film is almost uniquely moving and heartening for still another reason. Almost every minute of it has a kind of rashness, magnanimity, and deep, wise emotional directness which, I am convinced, can hardly if at all exist in a piece of work unless those who make it are sure they are at one with a large, eager, realistic general audience: in other words, very large parts of a whole people must have been moved, for a while at least, by the particular kind of aliveness which gives this film its peculiar radiance. When that is the case, men of any talent whatever can hardly help surpassing themselves. But when most of a people are in apathy, or sufficient anxiety to stun the spirit, every talent or hope, no matter in what spirit or attitude it may operate, is reduced to a fraction of its potentiality.

Great works of art, and the best hopes of good living, could come out of this quality of spirit, as out of no other. This film is not a great or for that matter a wholly well-realized work of art. It has some very considerable virtues besides those already mentioned: one of the few poignant and maturely perceived "love stories" ever to reach the screen; beautifully directed playing by all the boys, who are all amateurs, and by several naturalistic and a few well-chosen florid professionals; and an illusion of spontaneity which, considering that the director, Vittorio da Sica, had to put his amateurs through as many as thirty-nine takes for one scene, is one of the pure miracles of fifty years of movies. And in spite of some near-stock characterizations and situations, everyone in the film bulges with a depth and complexity of realness that is immeasurably beyond the hope of mere naturalism; because everybody is perceived as a complete human being, one feels at every moment that almost anything could happen, and that the reasons why any given thing happens are exceedingly complex and constantly shifting their weight. In playwriting, however, and camera work, and cutting, and sound, though it is eloquent, supple, unaffected, and uninhibited, even the very fine best of the film is seldom sharply inventive; one is very frequently moved and pleased, very seldom convinced that anything has been done definitively. Such feeling for form as there is, is more literary than cinematic. But the quality and energy of spirit are so compelling, pervasive, and valiant that I never felt, and cannot feel now, the pain or anger that is almost inevitable in seeing a good thing fall short of its best possibilities.

I gather that this spirit is already fading in Italy; that audiences are wanting and movie people are preparing costume dramas and screen operas. I suppose that it seldom holds a people strongly in focus, for long; it is a terrible pity that no men of genius were able to take advantage of this moment. But a moment which has made it possible for good, less gifted men to make such films as "Open City," the still better "Shoeshine," and a few others which, by their reputation, I hope we shall see soon has been by no means completely lost.

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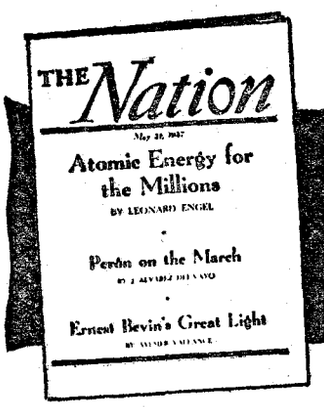

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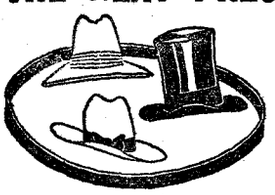

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Letters to the Editors

Isabelita's Trial

Dear Sirs: On August 7 last Margaret Richards, of the National Union of Students, with headquarters at 3 Endsleigh Street, London, flew to Spain as the only member of an international youth delegation of seven to be granted a visa by the Spanish authorities. Delegates from Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, and France were refused visas. The purpose of the visit was to investigate the case of the nine young Spaniards who had been held in prison for fifteen months for alleged anti-Franco activities. These nine young people, seven boys who were students and two girls, had been held without trial since April 30, 1946.

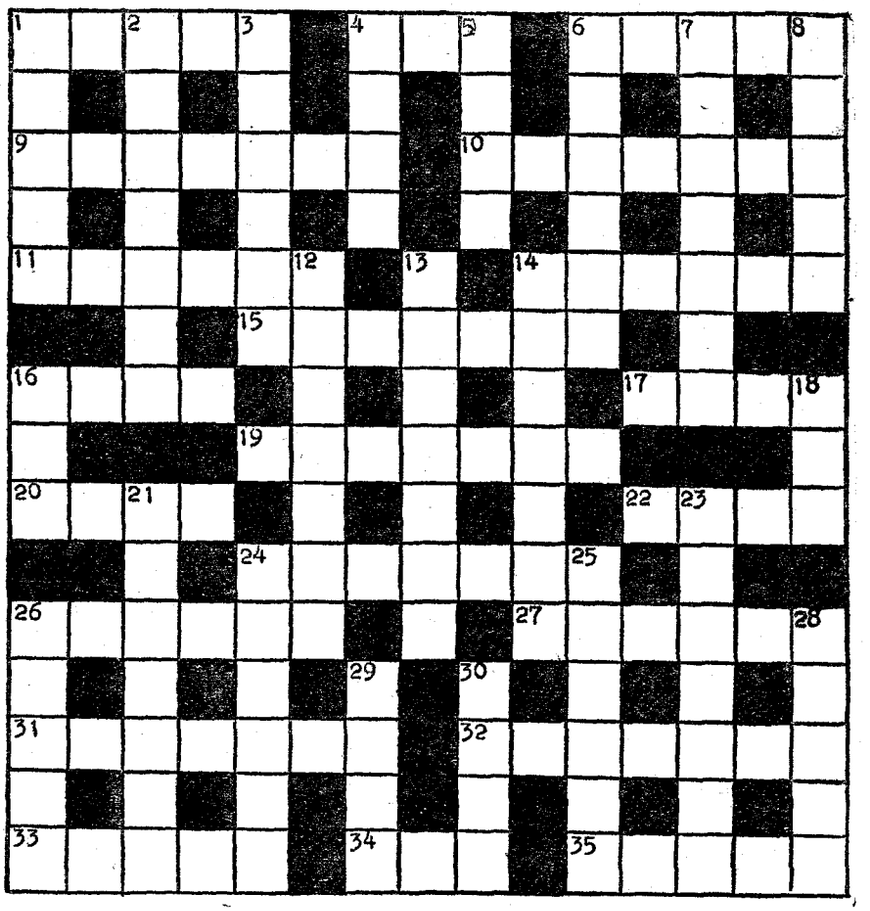
Possibly because of the many articles in the foreign press concerning the case (I wrote about it in *The Nation* of May 24) and the demonstrations in London and elsewhere in behalf of the nine young prisoners, they were actually brought to trial before Miss Richards reached Madrid. On July 28 they were tried before a court martial in Madrid, and the report was that the prosecution asked for five death sentences and four terms of thirty years. No confirmation of what the sentence was could be obtained in the days after the trial.

On reaching Madrid Miss Richards obtained aid from the British embassy in approaching the Spanish authorities. She requested permission to visit the nine young prisoners. On August 22, after many delays, she was informed that this permission had been granted her by the Director of Prisons, subject to confirmation by the Spanish Foreign Office. The British embassy again assisted Miss Richards in pressing for this confirmation, but on August 27 it was refused, with no reason offered.

In the meantime, working through unofficial channels, Miss Richards was able to uncover the full and detailed story of the case. The following is quoted from her report:

They [the nine prisoners] were charged with placing bombs outside food shops and restaurants on the night of April 26, 1946. No one had been killed, and the only two people, a night watchman and a little girl, to be injured, were not badly enough hurt to receive hospital attention. I visited the shops and the restaurant mentioned in the trial and found that in every case there was a political reason why that particular building had been chosen. Either it was a building run by

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 232 By MR. Y.



[SPECIAL NOTICE! This is the sixth of six puzzles constructed by Mr. Y in competition with Mr. X. At the end of the competition, *The Nation's* regular crossword puzzle man will be selected on the basis of letters sent in by puzzle-solving readers.]

ACROSS

1 Fish traps. (5)
4 She's got a big day coming. (3)
6 A large command in the navy. (5)
9 It's a strict rule—and almost a command, in the army. (7)
10 Neat hospital attendant. (7)
11 Four feet above the ground at times. (6)
14 A sort of oar to use. (6)
15 Raids my hosts by the tens of thousands. (7)
16 Back part of a carriage. (4)
17 Change of tide. (4)
19 Typhoid Mary was one. (7)
20 Fine French town. (4)
22 This meant naught to the Flying Tigers. (4)
24 Some people collect heaps of it. (7)
26 Where Shakespeare found sermons. (6)
27 See, air makes it less difficult. (6)
31 Carry me back to support an encirclement. (7)
32 Are such books kept on the shelf? (7)
33 My car is—perhaps that's why it doesn't run! (5)
34 Famous piper returns from his siesta. (3)
35 During the war, girls wouldn't believe they grow on trees! (5)

DOWN

1 Spray this, as all but the top is stuffy. (5)
2 Are Gila monsters used to wearing it? (7)
3 The son of the famous piper! (6)
4 Fiery, before its return. (4)
5 It is penned up in a boy's school. (4)
6 These snakes don't multiply as fast. (6)
7 Stranded for a good reason. (7)
8 Your familiar form before me? (5)
12 Pressing his suit was like talking to a wall. (7)
13 Such hunters made a best seller. (7)
14 Radio jingles? (7)
16 Such types were photographic. (3)
18 Nannette had this for tea. (3)
21 Where the black-birds drink? (7)
23 It's obvious I've brought up a depression. (7)
24 Here's a prize—you can open it up! (6)
25 Lord Nelson was one in later years. (6)
26 When bills are this, are they worn out? (5)
28 These sores open up, unless nipped in the bud. (5)
29 None of this in illuminating gas. (4)
30 Don't do it to your friends when they show up. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 231

ACROSS:—1 UNREAL; 5 ATTEND; 9 PIBROCH; 11 HAPPEN; 12 TOCSIN; 13 DOSSIER; 14 SLEW; 17 CEDE; 19 PARALYSIS; 22 WORRY; 23 PLATO; 25 COFFEE; 26 OUTLAW; 27 DEALT; 29 SNARK; 31 PRESS-GANG; 34 TYPE; 36 EDGE; 37 LIAISON; 39 ACETIC; 40 KOPEKS; 41 FORAGES; 43 NECTAR.

DOWN:—1 UNHASP; 2 RIPPER; 3 APED; 4 LINOTYPED; 5 ACTED; 6 THOR; 7 EASTER; 8 DONKEY; 10 RUSSIA; 15 LARCENY; 16 WARFARE; 17 COLLEGE; 18 DRAWING; 20 SLEEP; 21 STOLE; 24 OUTSPOKEN; 28 ARNICA; 29 STRAIT; 30 APPEAR; 32 ADVENT; 33 GEYSER; 35 PICOT; 37 LIFE; 38 NOSE.

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the Falange, or it was a luxury shop, full of expensive things which the mass of the people could not buy. Moreover, I found that this incident was the third in a campaign planned as a protest against the regime. A few weeks earlier the students had pasted up posters displaying the Republican flag; next they had pushed under doors duplicated material copied from the clandestine press to draw attention to the crimes of the Franco government.

They were arrested on April 30. First, two of the students nearest to the explosion in the Reina Victoria Street were caught by the police and taken to Security Headquarters, where they were mercilessly beaten with whips and belts. Under this treatment they gave away the names of some of the others, who were arrested the next morning while most of them were still in bed. They were then held for twenty days at Security Headquarters, where they were badly beaten up, in such a manner that terrible scars were left on some of them. Not until twenty days after their arrest were they charged. It was never even alleged that all of them had actually placed the bombs; some had acted as guards in the street without knowing the details of what was going on, though all admitted that they had been involved in a common action.

The day after I was given permission by the Director of Prisons to see them, they were all removed to other prisons—the boys to Burgos, where prisoners are assembled before being deported, the two girls to Ventas, the women's prison in Madrid. There is no evidence that any of them have been maltreated in prison, but all of them are badly underfed.

At the trial, which took place fifteen months after the arrests, no witnesses were called, no previous notice was given to the press or the public, and the whole proceeding was conducted by court martial, with military officers as prosecuting and defending counsel. The Judge Advocate behaved particularly badly, shouting at the prisoners, sneering at them during their evidence, and indulging in political diatribes at their expense.

The prosecutor asked for death for five prisoners and thirty years for four. Defending counsel asked for six months for some, acquittal for others. The sentences, which were not announced, were twenty years for Isabelita Toralba, six years for the second girl, twelve years and one day for four of the prisoners, and fifteen years for the remaining three. (The point about the "one day" is that a sentence up to twelve years is affected by the "loophole laws," which entitle prisoners in certain younger age groups to qualify for remission of sentence and be released in a shorter time. Also, owing to the date of their trial, these nine young people will not qualify for consideration under the terms of the recent amnesty.)

In a recent letter to me Miss Richards has amplified as follows her earlier statement that the sentences "were not announced":

I meant by "the sentences were not announced" that they were not announced at the trial. Journalists found out by asking relatives afterward. The sentences were not announced in the press report which appeared, and which merely said that the court had adjourned to consider the verdict.

Miss Richards's report continues:

As I did not arrive in time for the trial and was not allowed to see the prisoners, I tried to build up a composite picture from many reports. I also attended three trials in the same barracks so as to be able to judge better what had happened to the nine. . . . The trials I saw were bargain-driving between prosecution and defense for the terms of the prisoners who pleaded not guilty. A significant thing was the way in which all the relatives and friends of the prisoners—who, like us, had heard by underground of the date of the trial—made space for us at the front so that we could be seen taking notes. Afterward, they came and shook our hands and thanked us with tears in their eyes for having come, since our presence had an effect on the sentences.

Again, in replying to my question about what was meant by "since our presence had an effect on the sentences," Miss Richards amplifies the statement as follows:

When I said that relatives came up to thank us for having attended the trial, "thereby reducing the sentences," I meant to convey that this is what they said. Many people told us this in general terms. The only detailed statement I had was given me by a man who has been in prison more than once for political reasons. He cited to me the case of a friend of his for whom a sentence of thirty years demanded by the prosecutor was not challenged by the defense. The Cuban legation had taken an interest in the case, and this man said that the presence of an observer from the Cuban legation resulted in a reduction of his sentence to twenty years. Presumably this was inference. He said also that another trial had been deferred because of the presence of foreign journalists on the day when it was to have come up. The British embassy also told me that Zoroa's trial has been said to be coming off on three or four occasions. Observers have been sent, and the trial has not taken place. Here again there is no proof of cause and effect, only inference. But I must say the inference convinced me.

KAY BOYLE

Le Vésinet, France, September 19.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946, of The Nation, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1947.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Arx, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Editor, Freda Kirchwey, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:
The Nation Associates, Inc., (no stockholders), 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Freda Kirchwey, President, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and security in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 41,050.

HUGO VAN ARX
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1947.
[SEAL]

TERESITA GRANT,
Notary Public, King's Co. No. 704
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My commission expires March 30, 1949.

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